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Joint Editors :

A. S. Altekar, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt.,
(For Ancient Indian Period)

R. G. Gyani, M. A.
(For Mediæval & Modern Periods)



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EXAMINATION OF A HOARD OF 105 SILVER
PUNCH-MARKED COINS FOUND IN THE
UNITED PROVINCES IN 1916

(U. P. Treasure Trove No. 28 of 1916)

By E. H. C. Walsch, I.C.S., (retired).

Introductory.

The coins which form the subject of the present paper were with the late Mr. W. E. M. Campbell at the time of his death in 1922 and were forwarded to me in 1924, from the British Museum, where they had been deposited. They were together in a small box labelled "T.T. 28-1916.", which, no doubt, means "Treasure Trove Case No. 28 of 1916." There were no papers of any kind in regard to the coins. I therefore enquired from the Government of the United Provinces whether they could make enquiries regarding the Treasure Trove Report and let me know the Provenance of the coins and any other particulars regarding them. The Government kindly made enquiries from the local officers, but replied that "it has not been possible after the lapse of such a long time to ascertain the particulars, as the records had in the mean time been destroyed." The provenance of the coins is therefore unknown, though it is in the United Provinces. The hoard, however, presents certain points of interest. I examined and classified the coins, and put each of them in a separate envelope with the Obverse and Reverse marks noted, and forwarded them in 1928 with a full report to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, where they are now deposited.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE HOARD

This hoard, as in many other cases, contains both coins of the Older Thin Type and the Later Thick Type of the Mauryan Period, which shows that the earlier coins continued in circulation together with the later ones, or that the deposits in the hoard continued over a long period; as the coins would not be taken out of the hoard in the order in which they were put in. Sixty-four of the coins are of the Older Thin Type and 41 of the Later Thick Mauryan Type. Only 9 of the older coins and 8 of the later coins are round, but these are of various classes, showing, as in other coins, that the two types were in circulation together.

The coins are, for the most part, very worn, and in the case of some of the later coins part of the surface is flaked off, which accounts for their unusually low weight. Only 28 of the 64 older coins, and 13 of the 41 later coins are sufficiently clear for all the five marks to be distinguished.

The coins have been arranged in 26 Classes according to the groups of the Obverse Marks, as shown in the list of the coins, but on 23 of the coins in Classes XXIV and XXV so few marks can be deciphered, that they are not classifiable.

NOTES ON THE OBERSE MARKS

The Obverse Marks on both the Older Thin coins and the Later Thick coins are shown on Plate 1. Some of the marks occur only on the Later coins, others occur on both the older and the later coins. These are the Six-armed-Symbol, which, on the later coins, is in the form of mark 1 b; the Sun; the Bull (mark 3a); the Caduceus (mark 6); Elephant; the "Beetles" (marks 8); the Three-Arches (mark 9); the Hill-marks (marks 11 and 12); the Tree-in-Rail (mark 15a and b); marks 16 and 17, which are probably the upper part of mark 15; and marks 20, 21 and 53.

The following marks appear only on the later coins and are distinctive of them. The Hill-with-Crescent (mark 5); the Peacock-on-Hill (mark 13); the Steelyard (mark 14a, b); mark 25 (coin 105), which, as is shown by certain coins in the British Museum¹, takes the place of the Six-armed-Symbol on that class of late Mauryan coins; the Triskelis-with-a-circular-centre (mark 26) though the Triskelis occurs in other forms on the Older coins; the Swastika (mark 27); the "Goat-and-Vine" (mark 28); mark 46; and the "Lotus" (?) (mark 47a, b).

THE GREAT NUMBER OF OBERSE MARKS

As in the case of other hoards, the number of different Obverse Marks on the present coins is very great. Fifty-four decipherable marks are shown on Plate I, and there may be others among the many marks which are undecipherable. It will be seen from the Plate I that there is no Mark No. 29 or No. 45; the former was subsequently found to be part of another Mark, and the latter to be a Reverse Mark stamped on the Obverse of the coin. The great majority of the marks appear only on few coins. Excluding marks 1 and 2, the following marks only appear on four or more coins.—The Bull (mark 3a) on 21 older and one later coin, and in variety 3b on one, and in 3c on two of the later coins; the Elephant

1. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, p. 47, coins Nos. 26 and 27, and p. 21, coins Nos. 50 and 51.

(mark 7) on 14 older and 3 later coins; the Hare-on-Hill (mark 4) on 17 of the older coins; the Caduceus (mark 6) on 3 older and 12 later coins; the "Beetles" (mark 8) on 6 older and 1 later coin; the Rhinoceros (mark 34) on 3 older coins and from the analogy of the other four marks, probably also on coin No. 82; mark 38 on 4 older coins; Three-Arches (mark 9) on 4 older coins; mark 47 on 2 older and 2 later coins. The following marks occur only on the later coins and are distinctive of those coins. The Hill-with-Crescent (mark 5) on 19 coins, and in the variety 5b, on one coin; the Peacock-on-Hill (mark 13) on 6 coins; the Steelyard (mark 14) on 6 coins. Of the remaining marks 5 occur on 3 coins; 10 occur on 2 coins, and 25 on a single coin only. The great variety of the Fifth mark and, consequently, the smaller number of the coins on which the same Fifth mark occurs, shows that it changed much more frequently than the other marks, and that it was probably the personal mark of the head for the time being of the *Janapada*, *Gana*, or other authority which issued the coin, or of the authorised mintmaster.

OBVERSE MARKS ON THE REVERSE.

As in other hoards of punch-marked coins, Obverse Marks occur on the reverse of some coins; they are then always of a smaller size. In the present coins the Elephant (mark 7) occurs on the Reverse of the Older Coin No. 4. The Obverse mark is 8 mm, while on the Reverse it is only 4 mm. The Peacock-on-Hill (mark 13) occurs on the Reverse of the Later Coins, No. 31, Class IX, No. 55, Class XVII, and on both the Obverse and Reverse of the five coins Nos. 33 to 37, Class XI. The mark on the Obverse is 6 mm from the head to the tail of the Peacock, while on the Reverse it is only 4 mm. The Caduceus (mark 6) occurs on both the Obverse and Reverse of the later coin No. 38, Class XII. It is 6 mm on the Obverse while on the Reverse it is only 4 mm. *The marks on the Reverse of the later coins are entirely different from those on the older ones. In the former case they are hap-hazard marks of shroffs or bankers through whose hands the coin passed in the course of its circulation. In the latter case they are fixed marks, either a single mark or a fixed group of two or of three marks, and appear to be stamped by authority on a definite system.* The Hill-with-crescent also frequently occurs on the Reverse of the Later coins, although not on the present coins.

DOUBLE-OBVERSE COIN.

One coin No. 29, Class VIII, bears a group of five obverse marks on each face. Such coins also occur in other hoards.

There are 65 Double-Obverse coins in the Bhir-Mound hoard and 6 in the Paila hoard. A coin of an older coinage was subsequently restamped on its Reverse side with the Obverse Marks of a subsequent coinage and re-issued as that coinage. In the case of the Bhir-Mound and the Paila coins it can be said which is the original and which is the subsequent coinage, but this is not clear in the present coin. Both faces of the coin are very worn. The marks on the one obverse (A) are 1.2.7.48 and an indistinct mark; on the other obverse (B) they are 1.2.30.49 and an indistinct mark. From the analogy of the Bhir-Mound coins, on which Mark 48 only appears on one or two very old coins, it would appear that Obverse A is the original coin, which was subsequently restruck.

THE RELATIVE AGE OF THE OLDER COINS

As in other hoards, the Older Class of coins clearly differ in age, and appear to cover a considerable period. The Bhir-Mound coins furnish material for judging the relative age of different classes of those coins, and consequently of similar coins in the present hoard. On that basis, coins Nos. 62, 63, 64 in Class XVIII, which bear the mark of the Rhinoceros, and and No. 82 in Class XXIV, which, from its other marks, is no doubt of that same class; and the older Obverse A, of the Double-Obverse coin No. 29, Class VIII, are the oldest coins. Coins Nos. 15, 16, 17, Class IV, and Coin No. 19 in Class V, which bear the mark of a Bull-on-Hill come next in point of age after Class XVIII. Those coins are considerably older than coins Nos. 1 to 14, Classes I, II, III, which bear the mark of the Hare-on-Hill, which were the current coins at the time of deposit in the Bhir-Mound hoard, about 317 B. C.

RESEMBLANCE OF CERTAIN MARKS TO SIGNS IN THE INDUS-SCRIPT.

Certain marks on punch-marked coins bear a striking resemblance to certain of the signs of the Indus-Script¹ on the seals which have been discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. In the Bhir-Mound coins there are a number of marks which bear such resemblance.² The marks on the present coins which bear such resemblance are Mark 6 (The Caduceus), in the Script the sign has not got the straight line down the centre, (Seal 252, Sign Manual 243); Mark 9 (Three-arches), in the Script it is three-cones (Seal 459, Sign Manual 119); Mark 23, the

1. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*—The Sign Manual is in Vol. II, and the Plates of the Seals in Vol. III.

2. Walsh, *M.A.S.I.*, No. 59, pp. 27-28, and Table E pp. 44-47.

Sign in the Script is similar, but without the four protective Taurines (Seal 387, Sign Manual 131b); Mark 42 (Waved-Line) (Seal 253, Sign Manual 261); and Mark 43, the curved lower portion only, (Seal 374, Sign Manual 93). The Humped Bull, the Elephant, and the Rhinoceros (Mark 34) also occur on the Seals, but not in the Script. A Crocodile swallowing a fish is also common to both; the head portion of the crocodile and the fish on seal No. 14, Plate CXVI, are exactly like Mark 37, though on the coins, as is shown by the Bhir-Mound coins on which the Mark is complete, it is a large fish which is swallowing a smaller one.

The existence of such resemblances, however, must not be considered to imply that there is any connection between the Indus Civilization and the punch-marked coins, or that it is more than a coincidence. Various objects must necessarily occur in a pictorial script, and some of those same objects occur on the punch-marked coins with a separate significance.

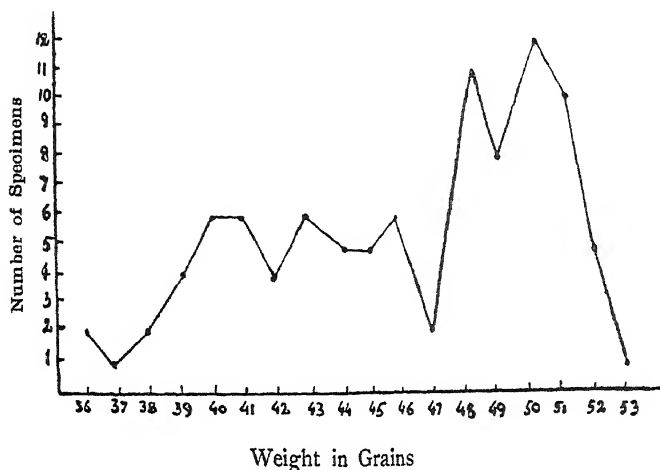
THE REVERSE MARKS

The Reverse marks on the present coins are of the usual character, on both the older and the later coins. I made a list of the reverse marks and noted the serial numbers of those on each coin on the envelopes of the coins and in the list of the coins. I cannot, however, now find the drawings of the marks, and have therefore excluded the reverse marks from the list of the coins, noting only their number on each coin as an indication in the case of the older coins of the length of their circulation. In the case of the later coins, as already noted, the reverse marks are of a different character, and although there may be one, two, or in some cases, three marks, the difference does not indicate different length of circulation. Of the later coins, nine have a plain reverse and eighteen have one single reverse mark. Eight coins have two and seven have three reverse marks.

THE WEIGHT OF THE COINS

A peculiar feature of the present coins is their lightness in weight. The average weight of the coins of the 32 *rati* standard is about 52 grains. Of the present coins 53, one half, are only 46 grains or less, of which 18 are only 40 grains or less. Although this is mainly in the case of the older thin coins, it is also the case with the later thick coins, of which 10, one quarter, are only 46 grains or under, the lowest being 41.75 grains. In the case of the older coins it is largely due to considerable wear, and in the case of some of the later coins the cause is

the flaking of the surface, apparently due to defective blending of the alloy. The weights of the coins are shown in the diagram below.



THE WIDE CIRCULATION OF THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS

The wide circulation of both the older and the later classes of punch-marked coins is shown by the fact that several of the older coins of the present hoard are identical with coins found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila,¹ and at Ramnā and Machhuatoli, near Patna, in Bihar;² These are therefore of the same coinage. They are shown in the Table printed on the next page.

1. For the description of the 'Bhir-Mound Hoard of 1171 coins, by the present writer, see *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 59.

2. Notes on Two Hoards of Silver Punch-marked coins, one found at Ramnā and one at Machhuatoli, by E.H.C. Walsh; *J.B.O.R.S.* 1939, pp. 91-117.

THE OLDER COINS

The Present Coins				Bhir-Mound		Ramnā
Coin No.	Class	Marks.	No. of Coins.	Class	No. of Coins.	No. of Coins.
1 to 5 (Pl. II, 1, 2, 3)	I	1a.2.3.4, 7	5	A. 1	207	6
6,7(Pl.II4,5)	II	„ „ „ „,41	2	A. 6	14	
8	III	„ „ „ „, 6	1	A. 2	29	1
9 (Pl. II 6)	„	„ „ „ „, 8	1	A. 4	19	1
10	„	„ „ „ „,20	1	A. 8	9	1
11	„	„ „ „ „,24	1	A. 7	14	
12	„	„ „ „ „,42	1	A. 5	16	
13, 14	„	„ „ „ „, x	2	A. (—)	...	
15 (Pl. II. 7)	IV	1a.2.3d.7,21	1	C. 1	70	1
18	V	1.2.3.10 x	1	I (—)	12	
19	V	1.2.3d.21.43	1	C. 5	8	
29 (Face A)						
(Double-obverse-coin) (Pl. II. 8)	VIII	1.2.7.48 x	1	Q. 9	1	}
				Double obverse coin 906 A	1	
62,63,64 (Pl.II.13,14)	XVIII	1.2.7.34.38	3	M. 1	35	
65	XIX	1.2.8a,8b.11	1	I. 1	7	
77 (Pl.II.14)	XXIV	1.2.23.24.37	1	N. 2	3	

Five coins from representative specimens of the Machhuatoli Hoard also are the same as coins Nos. 1 to 5 of the present coins; and one coin is the same as coin No. 11 of the present coins.

Many of the later thick coins are so worn or defective that all the five marks on them cannot be made out, but on those on which they can be distinguished, the following coins are identical with coins which have been found elsewhere. Some are the same as coins of the later class among the Machhuatoli hoard, and also of the hoard of coins found in 1917 at Gorho Ghat in the Bhagalpur District of the Province of Bihar. These are shown below :—

THE LATER COINS

The present coins				Gorho-Ghat		Machhuatoli	
Coin Nos.	Class	Marks	Number of coins.	Coin Nos.	Number of coins	Coin Nos.	Number of coins
33 to 37	XI	1b.2.5.13.14	5	21,22	2	21,49	2
52	XVI	1b.2.6.28.16	1	52	1	36	1
66	XIX	1b.2.8a.22,47a.	1	37	1		

I now proceed to give in a tabular form a description of the fifteen specimen coins from the present hoard, illustrated on Plate II. The table commences on the following page.

**DESCRIPTION OF THE SPECIMEN OF COINS
ILLUSTRATED ON PLATE II**

Nos. 1 to 7, 12, 13 and 14 are the Older Thin coins.

Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 15 are the Later Thick Mauryan coins.

No. on the Plate	Coin No.	Class	Weight in grains	Size in inches	Remarks
1	1	I	48.75	.82 x .55	<p>Marks 1a. 2. 3a. 24. 7. This and the two following coins bear the same group of marks as class A, I. of the Bhir-Mound Taxila coins, of which there are 207 coins, and which were the current coins at the date of the deposit of that hoard, at about 317 B. C. This would be the date of classes I, II and III of this hoard. They all bear the distinctive Locality-mark of a Harè-on-a-Hill. On this coin, this mark is worn; it can be seen upside down, at the top right-hand of the coin, over stamped by the Elephant.</p> <p>Mark 1a at the bottom of the coin, with the Bull above it at top-left.</p>
2	4	I	48.25	.77 x .70	<p>Marks as above. The Hare only partly appears, stamped over mark 1a, which is at the top-right.</p>
3	5	I	48.25	.80 x .65	<p>Marks as above. The Hare, upside down, is on the top left. Mark 1a at the bottom.</p>

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS ON PLATE II—(Contd.)

No. on the Plate	Coin No.	Class	Weight in grains	Size in inches	Remarks
4	6	II	50.75	.75 x .65	Marks 1a, 2. 3. 4. 41. The Hare-on-Hill is clear at the bottom of the coin, also Mark 1a. Mark 41 is on the top-left side.
5	7	II	48.25	.82 x .67	Marks 1a. 2. 3. 4. 41. The Hare-on-Hill, upside down, is top right. Mark 41 at the bottom of the coin; Elephant, top left.
6	9	III	49.75	.77 x .57	Marks 1a.2.3a.4.8. The Hare-on-Hill is on the right side; Mark 8, which is over stamped by Mark 2, at the bottom of the coin. The bull is clear at the top
7	15	IV	48.25	.67 x .57	Marks 1. 2. 3d. 7. 21. Mark 3d, Bull-on-Hill, is at the bottom, the two top arches of the Hill showing below the Bull. Mark 21 is upside-down at the top of the coin. The elephant, upside-down, on the left.
8	27	VII	53.50	.57 x .53	Marks 1b.2.3c.7.8a. A thick Mauryan coin. Mark 3c is at the top, and 8a at the bottom of the coin.
9	35	XI	51.50	.60 x .45	Both Obv. and Rev. are shown. Marks 1b.2.5.13.14. A thick Mauryan coin, with the distinctive Mauryan Marks of the Hill-with-Crescent (Mark 5) on the

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS ON PLATE II—(Contd.)

No. on the Plate	Coin No.	Class	Weight in grains	Size in inches	Remarks
					left side, and the Peacock-on-Hill at the top (Mark 13) and the Steelyard (Mark 14b) at the bottom. The Peacock-on-Hill also occurs on the Reverse, together with two other characteristic Mauryan Reverse-Marks.
10	38	XII	52.0	.57 x .53	Marks 1b.2.5.6.26. A thick Mauryan Coin. Mark 6, the Caduceus, is on the right, with the top portion of the Hill-with Crescent below it. Mark 1.b on the left side. The Triskelis (Mark 26) is below Mark 2 at the top of the coin.
11	42	XIII	50.50	.62 x .56	Reverse showing the "Taxila Mark." A Thick Mauryan Coin.
12	63	XVIII	47.0	.83 x .53	Marks. 1.2.7.34.38. This and the following coin are very old coins, as shown by the Bhir-Mound coins. The Rhinoceros, (Mark 34) is at top left, with mark 38 below it. Only the feet of the Elephant appear at the top right corner of the coin.
13	64	XVIII	49.25	.80 x .60	Obverse and Reverse. Marks 1a.2.7.34.38. Only the head of the Rhinoceros is visible in the centre of

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS ON PLATE II—(Contd.)

No. on the Plate	Coin No.	Class	Weight in grains	Size in inches	Remarks
14	77	XXIV	48.0	.80 × .70	coin, above Mark 1a. Mark 38 on the left edge. The Reverse bears nine marks, showing the long circulation of the coin. Marks 1b. 2. 23. 24. 37: Mark 1b is clear at the bottom of the coin, Mark 23, top right. Mark 37 (part only) on the left edge with Mark 24 above it. This is a very old coin, as shown by the Bhir Mound coins. There are 6 marks on the Reverse.
15	105	XXVII	50.75	.50 × .46	Marks 5b. 11. 14b. (top half). 25. ×. A thick late Mauryan coin. This coin does not bear Marks 1 or 2. Mark 25 takes the place of Mark 1 on this class of coins, as is shown by British Museum coins. Mark 25 is at the top right corner; Mark 5b lies across the coin at the bottom. Mark 11 (part) on the top left edge, and the top part only of Mark 14b on the lower right edge.

I now proceed to give on the following pages a description of the 105 coins found in this hoard in a tabular form, noting in each case the weight, the class, the obverse marks and the number of reverse marks.

THE LIST OF THE COINS

N. B. S=Square coin, R=Round coin.

Serial No.	Type of Coin	Weight in Grains	Obverse Marks	Number of Reverse Marks
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Class I (5 coins). Five Marks. 1a. 2. 3. 4. 7.

1	S. Thin	48.75	1a. 2. 3. 4. 7. (Pl. II. 1)	3
2	„	46.75	„	3
3	„	39.25	„	2
4	R. Thin	48.25	„ (Pl. II. 2)	3
5	„	48.25	„ (Pl. II. 3)	2

Class II (2 coins) 1a. 2. 3. 4. 41.

6	S. Thin	50.75	1a. 2. 3. 4. 41. (Pl. II. 4)	3
7	„	48.25	„ (Pl. II. 5)	4

Class III (7 coins) 1a. 2. 3. 4. and another mark which varies.

8	S. Thin	48.25	1a. 2. 3. 4. 6	9
9	„	49.75	1a. 2. 3. 4. 8 (Pl. II 6)	4
10	R. Thin	50.0	1a. 2. 3. 4. 20	4
11	S. Thin	49.50	1a. 2. 3. 4. 24	3
12	R. Thin	37.25	1a. 2. 3. 4. 42	7
13	S. Thin	46.0	1a. 2. 3. 4. x	3
14	„	43.25	1a. 2. 3. 4. x	1

THE LIST OF THE COINS (*Contd.*)

Serial No.	Type of Coin	Weight in Grains	Obverse Marks	Number of Reverse Marks.
<i>Class IV (3 coins) 1a. 2. 3d. 7. and another.</i>				
15	S. Thin	48.25	1a. 2. 3d. 7. 21. (Pl. II. 7)	3
16	„	45.25	1a. 2. 3d. 7. 50.	8
17	„	40.75	1a. 2. 3d. 7. x	4
<i>Class V (8 coins) 1. 2. 3. or 3d. and 2 other marks.</i>				
18	S. Thin	48.25	1. 2. 3a. 10 x	5
19	„	49.75	1. 2. 3d. 21. 43.	4
20	„	42.20	1. 2. 3a. 52 x x	2
21	Round	50.50	1. 2. 3a. x x	2
22	S. Thin	51.0	1. 2. 3a. x x	1
23	S. Thin	39.25	1. 2. 3 and x x	1
24	„	38.20	„	2
25	„	39.75	„	1
<i>Class VI (one coin) 1.2.3b. and 2 other marks.</i>				
26	Thick	43.80	1. 2. 3b. x x	2
<i>Class VII (2 coins) 1b.2.3c.7.8a</i>				
27	R. Thick	53.50	1b. 2. 3c. 7. 8a (Pl. II 8)	2
28	S. Thick	53.50	1b. 2. 3c. 7. 8a.	2

THE LIST OF THE COINS (*Contd.*)

Serial No.	Type of coin	Weight in grains	Obverse marks	Number of Reverse Marks
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Class VIII (one coin) Double Obverse.

29	R. Thin	41.0	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. 2. 7. 48. \times \\ 1. 2. 30. 49. \times \end{array} \right.$	
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Class IX (2 coins) 1.2.4.8. and one other mark.

30	S. Thin	44.50	1. 2. 4. 8. 15b	1
31	S. Thick	52.25	1. 2. 4. 8. 20	1

Class X (one coin) 1.2.4. and 2 others.

32	R. Thin	50.25	1. 2. 4. 7. 9	1
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Class XI (5 coins) 1.2.5.13.14

33	S. Thick	51.0	1. 2. 5. 13. 14	1
34	„	48.50	„	1
35	„	51.50	„ (Pl. II. 9.)	2
36	„	51.50	„	3
37	„	49.50	„	1

Class XII (4 coins) 1b. 2. 5. 6 and one other mark.

38	S. Thick	52.0	1b. 2. 5. 6 (Pl. II. 10)	1
39	„	49.50	„ 35	3
40	R. Thick	51.50	„ 54	3
41	S. Thick	47.50	„ x	2

THE LIST OF THE COINS (*Contd.*)

Serial No.	Type of Coin	Weight in Grains	Obverse Marks	Number of Reverse Marks.
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Class XIII (3 coins) 1b. 2. 5. 7 and one other mark.

42	S. Thick	50.50	1b. 2. 5. 7 (Pl. II. 11)	1
43	„	50.50	„ 23	2
44	„	50.75	„ ×	2

Class XIV (2 coins) 1b. 2. 5. 46a. and ×

45	S. Thick	50.0	1b. 2. 5. 46a. ×	3
46	R. Thick	50.25	„	3

Class XV (5 coins) 1. 2. 5. and 2 other marks.

47	R. Thick	50.75	1. 2. 5. 17a. ×	1
48	S. Thick	52.0	„ 31. ×	3
49	„	46.50	„ ×	1
50	„	44.50	„ × ×	2
51	„	42.0	„ × ×	1

Class XVI (2 coins) 1. 2. 6. and one other mark.

52	S. Thick	50.50	1. 2. 6. 28. 16	1
53	R. Thick	50.75	„ ×	2

THE LIST OF THE COINS (*Contd.*)

Serial No.	Type of Coin	Weight in Grains	Obverse Marks	Number of Reverse Marks
<i>Class XVII (81 coins) 1. 2. 6. and 2 other marks.</i>				
54	S. Thick	45.25	1. 2. 6. 16 ×	1
55	R. Thick	51.25	„ 44 ×	3
56	S. Thick	44.0	„ 47b. ×	Plain
57	„	42.50	„ 51 ×	Plain
58	„	45.50	„ × ×	1
59	S. Thin	40.50	„ ×	2
60	R. Thin	52.50	„ × ×	4
61	S. Thin	44.50	„ 17b. 39	1

Class XVIII (3 coins) 1. 2. 7. 34. 38

62	S. Thin	41.75	1. 2. 7. 34. 38	2
63	„	47.0	1. 2. 7. 34. 38 (Pl. II. 12)	10
64	„	49.25	1. 2. 7. 34. 38 (Pl. II. 13)	9

Class XIX (3 coins) 1. 2. 8 and 2 others.

65	R. Thin	43.50	1. 2. 8. 8. I1	5
66	S. Thin	51.25	1. 2. 8. 22. 47a	5
67	„	51.75	1. 2. 8. 35. ×	1

THE LIST OF THE COINS (*Contd.*)

Serial No.	Type of Coin	Weight in Grains	Obverse Marks	Number of Reverse Marks
<i>Class XX (2 coins) 1. 2. 8 and 2 others.</i>				
68	R. Thick	52.50	1. 2. 8. 22. 47a	Plain
69	S. Thick	43.75	2. 2. 8. x x	
<i>Class XXI (3 coins) 1. 2. 9. and 2 others.</i>				
70	S. Thin	39.50	1. 2. 9. 15a. x	1
71	"	50.50	1. 2. 9. x x	1
72	"	40.0	" x x	Plain
<i>Class XXII (2 coins) 1. 2. 15a. and 2 others.</i>				
73	S. Thick	41.75	1. 2. 15a. 12. x	Plain
74	"	46.25	" x x	Plain
<i>Class XXIII (2 coins) 1. 2. 19 and 2 others.</i>				
75	S. Thin	39.75	1. 2. 19. x x	1
76	"	34.50	" x x	2
<i>Class XXIV (22 coins) 1. 2. and 3 others.</i>				
77	S. Thin	48.0	1b. 2. and 23. 24. 37. (Pl. II. 14)	6
78	"	49.50	1. 2. 27. 32. 33	4
79	"	46.75	1. 2. 36. 40	5
80	"	50.75	1. 2. 20. x x	4
81	"	48.25	1. 2. 10. 1. x	8

THE LIST OF THE COINS (*Contd.*)

Serial No.	Type of Coin	Weight in Grains	Obverse Marks	Number of Reverse Marks
<i>Class XXIV continued</i>				
82	S. Thin	44.75	1. 2. 7. 38	9
83	S. Thick	41.50	1. 2. 13 x x	1
84	S. Thin	42.50	1. 2. 11. 47. a x	1
85	S. Thick	51.50	1. 2. 46 x x	2
86	S. Thin	36.0	1. 2 x x	1
87	„	41.0	1. 2 x x x	<i>Plain</i>
88	S. Thick	43.0	1. 2 (worn off)	do
89	S. Thin	41.75	1. 2 x x x	1
90	„	43.0	1. 2 x x	1
91	„	40.50	1. 2 (faint) x x x	1
92	„	40.0	1. 2 (faint) and x x	1
93	R. Thin	34.75	1. 2 x x x	6
94	S. Thick	41.75	1. 2 x	1
95	S. Thin	38.75	1. 2 worn off	(?)
96	S. Thick	46.0	1. 2 do	<i>Plain</i>
97	S. Thin	38.50	1. 2 do	1
98	„	34.50	1. 2 x x x	1

THE LIST OF THE COINS (*Contd.*)

Serial No.	Type of Coin	Weight in Grains	Obverse Marks	Number of Reverse Marks
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Class XXV (3 coins) Mark No. 1 not apparent

99	S. Thin	36.75	—2. 30 (partly)	<i>Plain</i>
100	do	40.75	—2 × ×	1
101	S. Thick	45.75	—2	1

Class XXVI (3 coins) Mark 2 not apparent

102	S. Thick	49.75	1. 8a. 11. 47a. The marks are clear.	1
103	S. Thin	33.50	1— × × × (only 4 marks)	1
104	R. Thin	43.50	Too worn to identify marks.	...

Class XXVII (one coin) Marks 1 and 2 do not occur.

105	S. Thick	50.75	5b.11.14b(part)25 × Pl.II.15	...
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[Owing to war conditions, it was not possible to send any proof of this paper to its author for correction. Editor, A.S.A.]

THE COINS OF THE KALACHURIS.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

I THE COINS OF KRISHNARAJA.

The coins of this king were first discovered about 1870 in the village Devlānā in the Bāglān *tālūkā* of the Nāsik District. The hoard comprised 82 coins which were sent to Dr. Bhau Daji for examination. Dr. Bhau Daji published his account of the hoard together with facsimiles of five of the coins in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI (1876), pp. 213-14. All the coins were of silver and round in shape. They varied in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

In his article, Dr. Bhau Daji drew attention to the similarity that the coins bore to the silver coins of Kumāragupta and especially to those of Skandagupta, but he read the legend on the obverse as *Rājā Parama Māheśvara; Mānasa Nripa Deva Dhyāna Śrī-kasa* (?) and interpreted it as 'Mānasa King, the great devotee of Maheśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God.' He conjecturally placed this Mānasa king about the end of the fourth century A.D.

The coins were next considered by General Alexander Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX (1879), pp. 29 ff. He read the legend on them as *Parama Māheśvara Mahādityapādāmudhyāta Śrī Kṛishṇa Rājā* and took it to mean 'the supreme king, the worshipper of Mahāditya (Śiva), the fortunate Kṛishṇa Rājā.' He admitted that some of the coins in his cabinet had possibly the word *Mahākeśhātra* in place of *Mahāditya*, in which case, he said, the translation would be 'the reverencer of the great king.' Cunningham agreed with Bhau Daji's view that the coins belong to about the end of the fourth century A.D., but he identified the king who struck them with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa. As for the date of this king, Cunningham wrote 'Kṛishṇa Rājā's date is fixed within narrow limits by the mention of his name in the early Chālukyan inscriptions. He was the father of Indra Rāshtrakūṭa who was defeated by Jaya Simha Chālukya, the grandson of Śrī Vijaya Rājā, of whom we possess an inscription dated Śaka 394 or A.D. 179.¹ Jaya Simha's own date will, therefore, be about A.D. 400 to 430 and that of Kṛishṇa Rājā Rāshtrakūṭa, the father of his antagonist Indra, will be A.D. 375 to 400.²

1. This is evidently a mistake for A. D. 472.

2. Cunningham's *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 80; also his *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 80; Pl. I, No. 19.

The data on which Cunningham based his conjecture about the date of Kṛishṇarāja, are now proved to be erroneous. As Fleet has pointed out,³ 'the supposed existence of an early Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja, contemporaneous with Jayasimha I, depends upon nothing but a statement which first appears in the eleventh century A.D.'⁴ Besides, as the date 394 of the Kaira plates of Vijayarāja can be referred neither to the Śaka nor to the Kalachuri or any other era current at the time, the plates are now held to be spurious.⁵

In 1885 Fleet published his account of two silver coins of Kṛishṇarāja from Cunningham's collection. He read the legend as '*Paramamāheśvara māṭā-piṭri-pād-ānudyāta śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*' which means 'the glorious Kṛishṇarāja who is a devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara (and) who meditates on the feet of his parents.'⁶ In the second edition of his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (1896), Fleet pointed out that 'there is nothing which compels us to connect them (i.e., the coins) with the Rāshtrakūṭa or any particular dynasty.'⁷ He suggested that in all probability the Devlānā coins were coins of Kṛishṇarāja, the Kalachuri king who was the father of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

Prof. Rapson also discussed these coins in his work *Indian Coins* (1897), p. 27, Pl. iv, No. 17. He doubtfully read the legend on them as *Parama-Māheśvara mahādevyoh pādānudyāta śrī Kṛishṇarāja*. As regards the date A. D. 375-400 proposed by Cunningham for this Kṛishṇarāja, Rapson pointed out that it was certainly incorrect, as it was too early for the style of the coins which are imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in the Western provinces. For the same reason he thought it impossible to place them so late as the time of the better known Kṛishṇarāja Rāshtrakūṭa, c. 756 A.D. Rapson was not, however, able to put forward any conjecture about the identification of Kṛishṇarāja.⁸

During his excavations at Besnagar in 1913-14, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar found seven coins of Kṛishṇarāja. He supported Fleet's view that this Kṛishṇarāja belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty.⁹ This identification is also corroborated by the fabric of the coins which, as stated above, are imitated from the silver coins of the Gupta king Skandagupta (circa A. D. 455-468). No inscription of this Kṛishṇarāja has

3. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 296.

4. *Viz.*, in the Kaurheim grant of Vikramāditya V, dated Śaka 930 (A.D. 1009), *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.

5. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part i, pp. 111 ff. and part ii, p. 188.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 68.

7. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 296 and 385.

8. Vincent Smith also described these coins in his article entitled 'the Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India, in *J. R. A. S.* (New Series), Vol. XXI (1889), p. 138, but he made no suggestion about the identification of Kṛishṇarāja.

9. *An. Rep.*, A. S. I. for 1913-14, p. 214.

yet been discovered, but since his son Śankaragana's Ābhona plates¹⁰ are dated K. 347 (A. D. 596-97) and his grandson Buddharāja's Vaḍner¹¹ and Sarsavni¹² plates were issued in K. 360 (A. D. 609-10) and K. 361 (A. D. 610-11) respectively, Kṛishṇarāja can be assigned to the period A. D. 550-575.

Pl. III, No. 1. AR; size .45"; Wt. 29 grs.¹³

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to right, without date or trace of any inscription.

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, the legend *Parama-maḥaśvara-mata-pitri-padanudhyāta-śra-Kṛishṇarāja* representing Parama-māheśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja. In the centre, the figure of a couchant humped bull to right.

These coins of Kṛishṇarāja resemble the silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas, Guptas and Traikūṭakas which were struck to the Graeco-Bactrian weight-standard of the hemidrachma¹⁴. Their fabric is also similar. But while the Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins have the symbols of the Chaitya (or, hill), the sun and the moon, these coins of Kṛishṇarāja have, like some western issues of Skandagupta¹⁵, the figure of a couchant bull (Śiva's Nandī) facing right in the centre of the reverse side. It is noteworthy that in the legend on these coins the king calls himself *parama-māheśvara*, a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva). He dropped all reference to the patronymic and the royal title which invariably appear on the coins of the Kshatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He substituted instead an expression denoting his devotion to his parents. It is noteworthy that such an expression is noticed nowhere else in Indian numismatics.

These coins were in circulation over an extensive territory. They have been discovered in such distant parts of the country as Rājputānā¹⁶ and Malwa¹⁷ in the north, the districts of Nāsik¹⁸ and Sātārā¹⁹ in the south, the islands of

10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 297 ff.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 33 ff.

12. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 297 ff.

13. The measurements and weights of all the coins described here have been kindly taken by Mr. M. A. Suboor of the Nagpur Museum. He has also obliged me by supplying me with the photographs.

14. From the *Periplus* we learn that old drachmai bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and Menander were current in Barugaza (Bharukachcha) even in the first century A. D. See McCrindle's translation in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 148.

15. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian coins, Gupta dynasties*, Pl. XX, Nos. 9-12.

16. Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India* (C. M. I.), p. 8.

17. *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1913-14, p. 214.

18. *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 213.

19. The coins were found near Karhād in the Sātārā District, *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, part ii, p. 13.

Bombay²⁰ and Salsette²¹ in the west and the districts of Betul²² and Amraoti²³ in the Central Provinces and Berar in the east. They seem to have remained in circulation long after the time of Krishnarāja; for they are mentioned in an inscription of Bhogaśakti recently discovered at Anjaneri in the Nāsik District²⁴. This inscription is dated K. 461 (A. D. 710-11). The coins were therefore current for at least one hundred and fifty years after the time of Krishnarāja. As might be expected, there were several issues of them, for the inscription on the reverse does not always commence at the same place and differences in the shapes of some letters are also noticeable.

Rapson has shown that the silver coins of the Kshatrapas which were struck to the same weight-standard as the coins of Krishnarāja were called *kāhāpanas* (Sanskrit, *Kārshāpanas*).²⁵ In the time of Krishnarāja, however, this term seems to have given place to *rūpaka*. The aforementioned Anjaneri plates show that the coins of Krishnarāja which were then in general circulation, were called *Krishnarāja-rūpakas*, evidently to distinguish them from the *rūpakas* of the Kshatrapas, Āndhras and Traikūṭakas which were similar in fabric.²⁶

II THE COINS OF GANGEYADEVA.

The first coin of this king to be recorded was that figured in Pl. L, No. 1, facing page 668 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV (1835).²⁷ Prinsep who published the coin read the legend on the obverse as *Śrīmad-Jādheyadeva* and described the figure on the other side as 'a rudely executed front view of a male or female (it is difficult to say which) seated in the native fashion, with a glory round the head and some incomprehensible objects in her hands.' The legend was correctly read as *Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva* by E. Thomas who edited Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities* in 1858, but he could not identify the king.

20. A hoard of 200 coins was discovered in Bombay proper, *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX (Extra Number) (1900), pp. 7 and 9.

21. Two coins were discovered at Mulgaon near Marole in Salsette *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

22. Some coins of this type were discovered in 1937 at Paṭṭan in the Betul District.

23. A hoard of 1600 coins was found at Dhāmori in the Amraoti District.

24. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXV, p. 232.

25. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Andhras etc.* (B. M. C.), Introduction, p. clxxxiv, n.

26. [The Siyadoni inscription shows that *drammas* were also similarly differentiated by being named after their issuers. It refers to *Vigrahapāla*-or *Vigrahapāliya-drammas* in ll. 30 and 24. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 173. Editor, A.S.A.]

27. See also Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, ed. by E. Thomas, p. 291 Pl. XXIV.

In his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. X (1880) p. 21 and *Coins of Mediæval India* (1894), p. 72, Cunningham described, with illustrations, gold, silver and copper coins of Gāṅgeyadeva. He identified the goddess on the reverse as Pārvaṭī and ascribed the coins to the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, who was mentioned by Alberūnī as the contemporary ruler of Dāhala.²⁸ The coins were next described by Rapson in his *Indian Coins* (1897), p. 33 and by Vincent Smith first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI (1897), pp. 305-06 and then in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (1906), pp. 251 ff. Pl. I, No. 2.; Pl. III, No. 2. A/, Size 7''; Wt. 61 grs.

Obverse²⁹—Inside a circle of dots, the legend in Nāgarī characters in three lines (1) [Śrī]mad-G[ā] (2) ṅgeyade (3) [vaḥ].

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots the figure of the four-armed Lakshmī, nimbate, sitting cross-legged with lotuses³⁰ in her two upper hands.

Gāṅgeya's coins exist in all three metals, gold, silver and copper and in four denominations which Smith calls dramma, half-dramma, quarter-dramma and one-eighth dramma. The dramma corresponds to the Attic drachm which weighed 67.5 grains. The gold, silver and copper drammās³¹ described by Cunningham, weighed 61 or 62 grains, but Mr. V. S. Agrawala informs me that the top-weight of Gāṅgeya's gold dramma in the Lucknow Museum is 69.5 grains. These gold drammās of Gāṅgeya are frequently met with in the southern and eastern districts of the United Provinces and some have been found in the Central Provinces also³². The silver and copper drammās also are not very rare. Vincent Smith says that it is possible that all the pieces which seem at first sight to be silver, were regarded officially as being gold.³³ Of the lower denominations, the gold quarter-dramma is sometimes found, but the half-dramma and one-eighth dramma³⁴ described by Cunningham are believed to be very rare. The

28. Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 25; *C.M.I.*, p. 72.

29. In describing the coins of Gāṅgeya and the Kalachuris of Mahā-kosala, I have followed V. Smith in regarding the side containing the legend as the obverse, since it was the more important one. The side containing the figure of Lakshmī is evidently the reverse as in the case of the coins of the Guptas.

30. The lotuses appear clear in Cunningham's *C.M.I.* Pl. VIII, No. 1.

31. I have called here the gold and copper coins *drammas*, but as shown below, the term *dramma* was generally restricted to silver coins only.

32. The legend on these coins found in the Central Provinces was read as *Srimad-Udayadeva* by R. D. Banerji who ascribed the coins to the Paramāra Udayāditya. *J. A. S. B.* for 1920 p. 84. But the type and the legend (which is somewhat crudely executed) are like those of the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva.

33. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVI (1897), part i, p. 306.

34. Cunningham describes one gold coin of Gāṅgeya weighing 7 grains and the *I. M. C.* has another which weighs only 5.6 grains.

lower denominations of silver and copper-drammas also are wanting.

In the Numismatic Supplement No. XVII (*J. A. S. B.* for 1912 p. 123, Pl. VI), Mr. Nelson Wright has described 8 gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva which had been found in the village of Isurpur, *Tahsil* Rehli of the Saugor District. These coins differed in fabric from the usual coins of Gāṅgeyadeva. They were thick and in diameter half an inch. It is therefore suggested that they were struck by Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgeyadeva. Except for these, no coins struck by Gāṅgeya's successors are known.

The Lakshmī type introduced by Gāṅgeyadeva became popular in North India. It was imitated by the Chandellas of Jajjhauti, the Gāhaḍavalas of Kanauj and the Tomars of Delhi. It was also introduced in distant Kashmir. See for instance the coin, No. 7 in Pl. XXXV, *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937. This coin has on the reverse the figure of the four-armed seated Lakshmī as on the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva. Allan ascribes it to Śrī-Harsha of Kāshmir (A. D. 1089-1101).

THE COINS OF THE KALACHURIES OF MAHAKOSALA.

The first coin of these kings to be published was that in Pl. XXXIX, facing p. 654 in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. V. (1836)³⁵. It is a copper coin of Prithvīdeva from the collection of General Cunningham. It has the king's name on the obverse and 'the figure of a four-armed god crushing a demon'³⁶ on the reverse. Prinsep read the legend correctly, but ascribed the coin to the king whose name occurs 'in the Dihli list as having reigned at Lahore in A. D. 1176-1192'. A hoard of 56 gold coins³⁷ was next discovered in 1892 in the State of Sāraṅgarh and some time later, three coins of the same type³⁸ were found in the bed of the river Ang in the State of Paṭṇā. All these coins were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal where they were examined by Dr. Hoernle. His report on them appears in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1893, pp. 92 ff. and 141 ff. The coins were of three kings, Jājalladeva, Prithvīdeva and Ratnadeva. All the coins were round in shape. They had the particular king's name on the obverse and the same device on the reverse. Hoernle at

35. It is reproduced in Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (1858), Pl. XXXI.

36. This god is of course Hanumān, though Prinsep did not identify him at the time.

37. This hoard contained 26 coins (9 large and 17 small) of Jājalladeva, 29 coins (all small) of Ratnadeva and one coin (large size) of Prithvīdeva. Coins of the large size weigh about 60 grains and those of the small size weigh about 15 grains.

38. All the three coins (two large and one small) were of Jājalladeva.

first took the device to be the standing figure of Hanuman, but later on changed his opinion and thought that it represented an elephant, a horse or a bull. As there were more than one king of each of these names, Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jajalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Prithvideva II.

The coinage of this Kalachuri branch was next noticed by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India* (1894), pp 73 ff. In this work Cunningham described the gold coins³⁹ of the three kings mentioned above, as well as two unique copper coins which he had acquired in 1835 and 1885. Cunningham identified the figure on the copper coins as that of Hanumān, but he was not certain about the device on the gold coins which he described as a number of shapeless objects surrounded by a circle of dots. Prof. Rapson who edited Cunningham's work published posthumously, thought that 'the confused type on the reverse might perhaps be intended to represent a lion, facing right, rampant'⁴⁰. In his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 254 ff., Vincent Smith has described only the gold coins of the aforementioned three kings. He follows Rapson in taking the device on the reverse to be the figure of a rampant lion. Since then some hoards of gold coins of these kings have been discovered from time to time in Chhattisgarh⁴¹. The largest of them was that of 600 gold coins discovered in 1921-22 at Sonsari in the *tahsil* and District of Bilaspur. It contained the following coins :—

Name of King.	No. of coins of large size.	No. of coins of small size.
(A) Kalachuri Kings		
Jajalladeva	... 29	7
Ratnadeva	... 68	28
Prithvideva	... 405	54
(B) Other Kings		
Govindachandra	... 2	
Unknown	... 7	
	<hr/> 511	<hr/> 89
Total—600 coins.		

39. In his descriptive table on p. 76 and in Pl. VIII, in *C. M. I.*, Cunningham labels three of these coins (Nos. 9-11) as those of copper. But this is incorrect; for, as he has himself stated, the coins were from the British Museum and were found in 1893. Cunningham has also quoted Hoernle's opinion about the device on them. They were therefore identical with the coins discovered in the Central Provinces in 1893, which were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for examination. Some of them were apparently presented to the British Museum later on. As stated above, all these coins were of gold.

40. Cunningham *C. M. I.*, pp. 75-76 n. 45.

41. Vincent Smith (*I. M. C.*, p. 255, n. 2) states that 'examples of the coinage of all the three Rājās have been found also at Dūdhī in the south of the Mirzāpur District, U. P.'

Only this year (1940) during the last four months, two more hoards of gold coins have been discovered,—one of 136 gold coins of all the three kings,⁴² found in the village Dalal Siwani, in the Raipur district and the other of 12 gold coins, all of Prithvīdeva, found in the village Bhagond in the Jānjgir *taluk* of the Bilāspur district. Copper coins also of the aforementioned three kings and of one more, named Pratāpamalla, who, as shown below, belonged to the same dynasty, have been discovered at different places in Mahākosala.⁴³ The credit of preserving them and of bringing them to the notice of scholars belongs to Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary of the Mahākosala Historical Society. The gold coins described below are from the Nagpur Museum and the copper coins from the collection of Pandit Pandeya.

III THE COINS OF JAJALLADEVA I.

No. in Pl. III.	Metal.	Size, diameter in inches.	Weight in grains.	Obverse.	Reverse.
3	A	.8	61	Three-line Nāgarī legend within a circle of dots (1) <i>Śrīmāj-j[ā]</i> (2) <i>jallade</i> (3) <i>va.</i>	Figure of a gallop- ing horse to right.
4	A	.47	15½	Inscription as above, <i>Śrīmāj-j</i> <i>[ā]</i> (2) <i>jallade-</i>	Ditto.
5	Æ	.7	43½	Legend as above, <i>Śrīmāj-J[ā]</i> (2) [<i>Ja*</i>][<i>llade-</i>	Figure of two-armed Hanuman to right, trampling a demon.

Only gold and copper coins of this king have been discovered so far. About the identity of the figure on the reverse of gold coins, there is a great diversity of opinion among scholars. Hoernle at first took the figure to be that of Hanumān. He described the coins as follows: 'They show on the obverse⁴⁴ the standing figure of Hanumān, with body

42. This hoard contained 29 coins (28 large and 1 small) of Jājalladeva, 3 coins (all small) of Ratnadeva and 104 coins (67 large and 37 small) of Prithvīdeva.

43. The largest hoard of copper coins, about 200 in number was found in 1936 in the State of Khairāgarh; another of 43 coins was found at Talorā in the State of Raigarh. Stray coins of all these kings have been found in the vicinity of Bālpur on the bank of the Mahānadi.

44. I have called this the reverse side. See above, n. 29.

turned to front, but feet to right and head to left. In the proper right hand he apparently holds a club. On the right and left in the field are two scrolls, one of which represents his tail. The whole is enclosed within a marginal circle of dots. The figure is fairly distinct on the gold coins, but very crude on those of mixed metal.'⁴⁵ I have examined several gold coins of these kings, but on none of them does the figure of Hanumān appear to be distinct. Hoernle's judgment was apparently influenced by the copper coin of Prithvīdeva which had been published before in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. V and in Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, and on which the figure of Hanumān appears quite clear. Hoernle himself later on changed his opinion. In his article entitled 'Coins of the Kalachuri Kings of Chedi' in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXI, part i, (pp. 239 ff.) published in the same year, Hoernle wrote: 'What animal the figure on the obverse represents, I do not venture to say. At first I thought that it was the standing figure of Hanumān and this opinion I expressed in my report published in the *Proceedings* for April last, p. 92. This figure can be recognized if one takes the coin (e.g., the gold Prithvīdeva, Pl. VII, fig. 22) with the reverse (legend) side facing, and then turns over the obverse side, sideways from the right to the left. The obverse side, as then presented to the spectator, shows a crude figure of Hanumān standing with his head turned to the left (showing profile), body to front, and feet to right; one of the two scrolls being his tail. The figure of course is very crude.

'But I have since found that holding the obverse side in a different position, other figures can be made out; and accordingly I wish to withdraw, for the present, the conclusion'⁴⁶ which I drew from my recognition of the figure of Hanumān, in the April *Proceedings*, p. 93. If, instead of turning the gold Prithvīdeva sideways from right to left, it be turned downwards from top to bottom, the obverse side as now presented to the spectator shows a distinct small figure of an elephant in the lower half of the coin. His head on the right hand side is quite clear; his trunk is raised up and curves over; within the curve is seen one of his tusks; his body is encircled by a heavy chain of the howdah; the upturned tail is seen just on the left margin; the forelegs are partially visible, the hind-legs are cut away. This much is very clear, but what the marks on the upper half of the coin may mean I cannot make out unless they can somehow be taken to represent a howdah.

45. *Proceedings, A. S. B.* for 1893, pp. 92 ff.

46. The conclusion was that the Kalachuri kings already possessed a coinage with the device of Hanumān, before the Chandellas introduced it in their kingdom.

'There is still a third possibility. Holding the obverse side in nearly the same position as for the elephant, it is just possible to recognize the figure of a bull (or a horse, or a lion), to the right in the same recumbent position as seen on the so-called Bull and Horseman coins. What was before the upturned trunk of the elephant are now the fore-legs of the bull turned under his body. A part of what might be the howdah(?) is now the head of the bull (or other animal), near the right-hand margin.

'I may add that holding the coin in the position now described, the akshara *mā*⁴⁷ presents itself upright, which renders it probable that this is the probable position in which the coin should be held'.

I have quoted this long extract because it shows clearly how the reverse type confounded even an experienced numismatist like Hoernle. As stated before, Cunningham also could not identify the device on the gold coins of these kings, but Rapson thought that it might perhaps be intended to represent a rampant lion facing right. Recently Mr. Allan has described in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937, pp. 297 ff. three gold coins of these kings acquired by the British Museum. He has chosen to follow Hoernle's earlier opinion, without noticing that Hoernle himself later on withdrew that identification. According to Allan, the monkey's head and tail are clear on these coins, but he thinks that there may be more than one figure involved. From the plate accompanying his article, the coins appear to be of the same type as those described by Cunningham, Rapson and Vincent Smith.

The figure on the reverse of these coins is indeed crudely executed which has caused such a divergence of opinion among scholars. It will, however, be seen from an exceptionally good specimen figured in Pl. III, No. 10 below, that it was meant to represent a fully caparisoned horse galloping to right. Its ears and tail are upraised. On the back of it there appears something waving in the same direction in which the horse is galloping. It is perhaps the crude figure of a rider holding the reins of the horse⁴⁸. The coins illustrated by Allan will be found to have the same figure if they are held in the right position. Thus if Fig. 3 in Pl. XXXV of the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937 is turned a right angle from the right to the left and Fig. 4 in the same plate, a right angle from the

47. This *akshara* does not occur on any of the coins illustrated here, but it appears on the coin of Jajalladeva figured in Cunningham's *C. M. I.*, Pl. VIII, No. 9 and Rapson's *Indian Coins*, Pl. V, No. 8. In either case the *akshara* appears to be *vā*, not *mā*.

48. Perhaps the die-cutter has joined the horseman's head to the plume on the head of the horse. For such plumes or crests see Nos. 5-11 and 15-17 in Cunningham's *C. M. I.*, Pl. VII.

left to the right, they will both present the same figure of a galloping horse. On the copper coins, the figure of Hanumān is of course quite clear. In the coin figured here, the god is turned to the left. The demon on the left on whom he must be trampling is cut out in this instance.

IV THE COINS OF RATNADEVA II

Plate III			Obverse	Reverse
No. 6	A/ ·7	Wt. 62 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend (1) <i>Śrīmad-Ra-</i> (2) <i>tnadeva</i> .	Figure of a caparisoned horse with a rider to rt.
No. 7	A/ ·45	Wt. 15½ „	Ditto.	Ditto.
No. 8	Æ ·9	Wt. 100 „	Ditto.	As above, but the die-cutter has wrongly shown the horse's hoofs like the claws of a lion.
			As above,	
No. 9	Æ ·6	Wt. 23½ „	(1) [<i>Śrī</i>]mad-Ra- (2) [<i>tna</i>]deva	A sheathed dagger below some indistinct objects.

Of this king also, only gold and copper coins are known. I have not seen any copper coins of this king with the Hanumān device. He seems to have introduced the horse type on his copper coins, but the hoofs of the horse were by mistake, shaped like the claws of a lion.

V THE COINS OF PRITHVIDEVA II

Plate III		Wt.	Obverse.	Reverse.
No. 10	A/ ·77	61 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend (1) <i>Śrīma-t-Pri</i> (2) <i>thvādeva</i> .	A distinct figure of a fully caparisoned horse with a rider galloping to rt.
No. 11	A/ ·5	15 „	As above, (1) <i>Śrīma-t-[Pri]</i> (2) [<i>th</i>]vādeva[va]	Ditto.
No. 12	AR ·35	6 „	As above, (1) <i>Śrīma-t-[Pri]</i> (2) -[de]	Some shapeless objects, perhaps representing a galloping horse.

No. 13	Æ .85	Wt. 99½ grs.	As above	Four-armed
			(1) <i>Śrīma-t-Pri</i>	Hanumān to l.
			(2) <i>thvīde[va]</i> .	He carries a mace in one of his proper left hands and something (a hill?) in one of his right hands. His other two hands are engaged in seizing two demons, one on rt. (cut out) and the other on l. whom he tramples under his proper rt. foot.
No. 14	Æ .75	68 „	As above,	Hanumān to rt.
			(1) <i>Śrīma-t-Pri</i>	
			(2) <i>[thvz]de[va]</i> .	
No. 15	Æ .85	99½ „	As above,	Hanumān to
			(1) <i>Śrīmat-[Pri-]</i>	left. He tramples on a demon to l. and has an attendant on rt.
			(2) <i>thvīde[va]</i> .	
No. 16	Æ .8	73 „	As above,	A galloping horse
			(1) <i>Śrīmat-[Pri-]</i>	with a rider to
			(2) <i>thvīde[va]</i>	rt.

Of this king, coins in all the three metals are known,⁴⁹ but his silver coins are very rare. Pandit L. P. Pandeya has so far been able to secure only three silver coins. All these are very small in size and resemble the one-eighth dramma pieces of Gāṅgeyadeva. This king's copper coins have both the devices of the galloping horse and Hanumān (facing right or left).

VI THE COINS OF PRATAPAMALLA

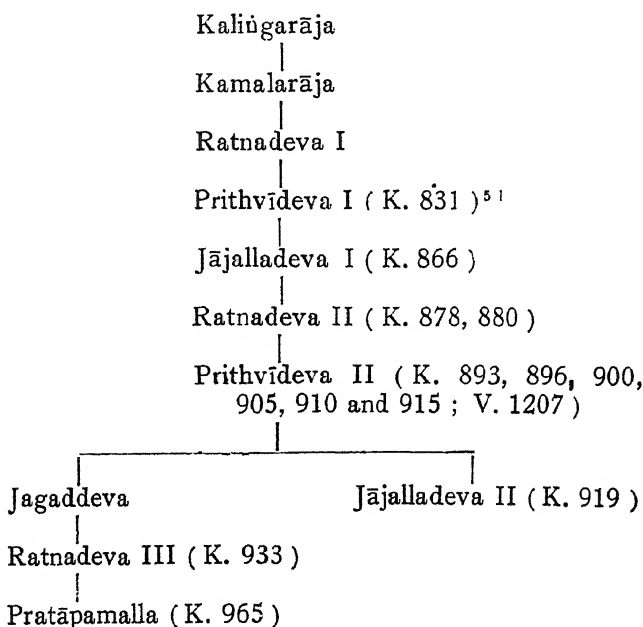
Plate III	Obverse	Reverse
No. 17	Æ .8	Wt. 38 grs.
	Three-line Nāgarī legend	Lion to 1.
	(1) <i>[Śrī]mat-Pra-</i>	(The face of the animal is worn, but the claws and tail are clear).
	(2) <i>tāpama-</i>	
	(3) <i>[lla]deva.</i>	

49. E. Thomas' statement that Prithivideva's gold coins of the Durgā (or Lakshmi) type are sufficiently common was incorrect and misled Hoernle. Not a single coin of this type has been discovered so far. See Cunningham,

No. 18	Æ .75	Wt. 29 grs.	Three-line Nāgarī legend	Some indistinct device,
			(1) <i>Śrīmat-Pra-</i>	flower and
			(2) <i>tāpama</i>	leaves (?), with
			(3) [<i>lla</i>] <i>deva</i> .	a sheathed
				dagger below.

No gold and silver coins of this king have been reported till now. His copper coins were found for the first time in 1924. Pandit L. P. Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king has been confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the Peṇḍrābandh plates⁵⁰. The seal of these plates has a sheathed sword or dagger below the legend as on the coins of this king. The plates state that Pratāpamalla was the son and successor of Ratnadeva III. They bear the date K. 965, corresponding to A. D. 1214.

From copper-plates and stone inscriptions we get the following genealogical list of the early Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur⁵¹ :—



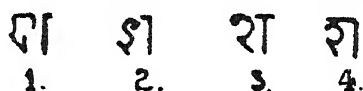
As the name Ratnadeva has been repeated thrice in this list and the names Prithvīdeva and Jājalladeva twice each, the

50. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

51. The figures in the brackets state the known dates of these kings. All of them except one are of the Kalachuri era. These later dates of this era can be converted into the corresponding years of the Christian era by adding 248-49 to them.

question of the attribution of these coins becomes very difficult. While describing the hoard from the State of Sāraṅgarh, Dr. Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Prithvīdeva II,⁵² but he gave no reasons to support his view. Cunningham, on the other hand, assigned the same coins to Prithvīdeva I, Jājalladeva I and Ratnadeva II.⁵³ Vincent Smith was not certain about the matter. He doubtfully referred them to Prithvīdeva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva III, but did not deny the possibility of their being assigned to earlier homonymous kings.⁵⁴ No satisfactory reasons have, however, been given for any of these identifications. Mr. Allan has recently pointed out⁵⁵ that in view of the probability that Prithvīdeva I was still a feudatory⁵⁶ and that the dynasty became completely independent in the reign of Jājalladeva I, it is not improbable that some at least of the coins should be attributed to Prithvīdeva II. He thinks that the same is true of the distribution of coins between Jājalladeva I and II and Ratnadeva II and III.

An important clue to the identification of the kings who struck these coins is afforded by the form of the palatal ś in the legends on these coins. In the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, we find the following forms of this letter :—



The first of these we find invariably in the Ratanpur stone inscription⁵⁷ of Jājalladeva I, dated K. 866 (A.D. 1114) and in the Sheorinarayan plates⁵⁸ of Ratnadeva II, dated K. 878 (A.D. 1127). The second form is noticed in the Sarkho plates⁵⁹ of Ratnadeva II, dated K. 880 and the remaining two in the records of the later kings, such as Prithvīdeva II, Jājalladeva II, Ratnadeva III and Pratāpamalla. The accompanying plate will show that the second form of the palatal ś, in which the left member appears like the English letter S is seen on the gold coins of Jājalladeva. This prince must, therefore, be identified with the first king of that name. There is another piece of evidence which points in the same direction. Jājalladeva I was a powerful prince. The Ratanpur stone inscription of his reign states that the ruling chiefs of the

52. *Proceedings, A. S. B.* for 1898, p. 93.

53. *C. M. I.*, p. 76.

54. *I. M. C.*, pp. 254-55.

55. *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937, pp. 298 ff.

56. In his Amodā plates dated K. 831 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75 ff.) Prithvīdeva describes himself as *Mahamāṇḍalesvara* which indicates his feudatory rank.

57. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

58. *I. H. Q.* Vol. VIII, pp. 31 ff.

59. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 159 ff.

neighbouring territories, *viz.*, South Kosala, Āndhra-khimiḍi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhānāra, Talahāri, Dandakapura, Nandāvali, and Kukkuṭa paid him annual tributes and that as he was valorous, his alliance was sought by the lords of Chedi, Kānyakubja and Jejābhuktika. Jājalladeva I's alliance with the contemporary Chandella king, who is evidently meant here by the lord of Jejābhuktika, is reflected in his coinage. It is well known that Chandella coinage begins in the reign of Kirtivarman (*circa* A.D. 1060-1100). Only gold coins of this king are known. Copper coins appear for the first time during the reign of Sallakshaṇavarman, the son and successor of Kirtivarman, who was a contemporary of Jājalladeva. Sallakshaṇavarman's copper coins are extremely rare. Cunningham had only one in his cabinet which is figured as No. 16 in Pl. VIII of his *Coins of Medieval India*. It has the king's name in three lines on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing right on the reverse. The Hanumān type was apparently evolved in the Chandella kingdom⁶⁰ where we find the earliest reference to the worship of the monkey god in a stone inscription dated Harsha era 316 (A.D. 922).⁶¹ This type seems to have been copied with a slight variation⁶² by Jājalladeva I after he formed an alliance with the Chandella king, Sallakshaṇavarman.

The galloping horse type seen on the gold coins of this dynasty seems also to have been introduced for the first time by Jājalladeva I. It was evidently imitated from the horseman type coins struck by the Hindu kings of Ohind.⁶³ In adopting this type, however, Jājalladeva made some changes. The horse was of course caparisoned as on the silver and copper coins of Spalapatideva and Sāmantadeva, but it was shown to be galloping, not stationary. The figure on the back of the horse is probably that of a rider though very crudely executed.

On the coins of Ratnadeva and Prithvīdeva, the left member of the palatal ś has a somewhat longer serif at the bottom than in the Sarkho plates of Ratnadeva II, but the letter has not yet assumed the form seen in later records. These kings must therefore be identified with Ratnadeva II and Prithvīdeva II⁶⁴. It is noteworthy that the Sonsari

60. The Hanumān type was evidently suggested by the Ādivarāha type used by Bhoja I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.

61. This date was read by Cunningham as *Saṃvat* 940 and by Kielhorn as *Saṃvat* 215. D. R. Bhandarkar read it as *Saṃvat* 316 which he referred to the Harsha era. See *P. R. A. S. I., W. C.* for 1903-04, p. 47.

62. On the coins of Jājalladeva the god appears two-armed as on the Chandella coins, but is shown to be trampling on a demon. On those of his successors he appears four-armed.

63. V. Smith, *I. M. C.* pp. 243 ff.

64. In the time of Prithvīdeva II the second form of ś had no doubt gone out of use, but it seems to have continued on his coins; for conservatism in regard to form of letters is a characteristic of Indian coinage.

hoard mentioned above, which contained the coins of all these kings, had also two coins of Govindachandradeva. This Gāhaḍavala king of Kanauj had a long reign of nearly 45 years (circa A. D. 1110-1155), and so was a contemporary of Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Prithvīdeva II. The Sonsari hoard seems to have been secreted some time during the reign of Prithvīdeva II.

It would not be out of place to discuss here the names and value of the Kalachuri coins and the weight-standard according to which they were struck. We have already seen that the coins of the Early Kalachuri king Krishṇarāja were called *rāpakas* and were struck to the standard of hemidrachma. The gold and silver coins of Gāṅgeyadeva and the gold coins of Jājalladeva, Ratnadeva and Prithvīdeva were struck to the weight-standard of the Attic drachma (67·5 grains), though they rarely reach that standard. Vincent Smith thought that all these coins were known as *drammas*⁶⁵. He drew attention to the great Siyaḍoṇī inscription⁶⁶ in which the coins are so named. Accordingly he used the terms gold, silver and copper *drammas* in describing the coinage of the Kalachuris, the Chandellas and the Gāhaḍavalas⁶⁷. It is however doubtful if the term *dramma* signified gold and copper coins also. The Siyaḍoṇī inscription mentions specifically the *Ādivarāha* and *Vigrahapālīya drammas*, referring evidently to the coins of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhoja I and the Pāla king Vigrahapāla I respectively. But these coins are almost all in silver⁶⁸. Besides, if the term *dramma* had signified the coins of all the three metals, some word like *suvarṇa*, *rūpya* etc., would have been prefixed to *dramma* in order to indicate the intended class of coins.⁶⁹ *Dramma* seems therefore to have been the name of only the silver coin weighing about 65 grains. This conjecture receives support from the fact that in some inscriptions *drammas* are mentioned separately from *suvarṇas* which were undoubtedly gold coins. In the Cambay plates dated Śaka 852, for instance, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda IV is said to have donated, on the occasion of his *pañṭabandha*, four lacs of *suvarṇas* and thirty-two lacs of *drammas*.⁷⁰ The former were plainly gold coins

65. Smith *J. M. C.*, p. 251 and n. 1.

66. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff.

67. Allan has used the name *dināra* in referring to the gold coins of the Kalachuris of Mahākosala, but this name seems to have gone out of use in the age of these kings. The gold coins current in Koṅkan were called *Gadiyāṇas* and *Dharaṇas*, see Khārāpāṭan plates of Rattarāja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

68. See Smith, *J. M. C.*, pp. 233, 239 and 241. Smith has noticed two copper coins of Bhoja in *J. M. C.* p. 242.

69. Very rarely *dramma* signified a gold coin, but in such cases some word like *kāñchana* was prefixed to it: See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 136.

70. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII p. 40.

and the latter silver ones. In later times *ṭaṅka*⁷¹ or *suvarṇa-ṭaṅka* seems to have become current as the name of a gold coin. The Rewah inscription dated K. 944 states that Malayasirṇha, the minister of the Kalachuri king Vijayasirṇha, expended 1500 *ṭaṅkakas* stamped with the effigy of the Bhagavat⁷² in constructing a tank near Rewah. The *Smṛiti-sthala*,⁷³ a Marāṭhī Mahānubhāva work of about the 14th century A. D., mentions *sona-ṭaṅkas* (Sanskrit, *suvarṇa-ṭaṅkas*) as coins current in its age.⁷⁴

As stated above, *dramma* was the name of a silver coin weighing about 65 grains. There were lower denominations of it such as one-quarter, two-quarter and three-quarter drammās. One-quarter drammās were called *pañchīyaka drammās* because they were equal in value to five *viṃśopukas*. That a *pañchīyaka drama* was a quarter-dramma is clear from the Siyaḍoṇī inscription which in line 37 lays down a cess of a quarter-*Ādivarāha drama* and then in the next line expresses the same cess in figures as *pañ dra 1*, i. e., one *pañchīyaka drama*.⁷⁵ In the same inscription a half dramma is called *drammārdha* and a three-quarter dramma as *dramma-tribhaga*.

The drammās are mentioned in the Besāni stone inscription dated K. 958 from the Chedi country. But I know of no record from Chhattisgarh which mentions these coins. The Tahaṅkāpār plates of Pamparāja, dated K. 965, mention 130 *Sarāhagaḍām āchhu*⁷⁶ which may mean 130 silver coins minted in Sarāhagaḍa⁷⁷ (modern Sāraṅgarh). It is noteworthy in this connection that a similar Marāṭhī word *āsu* occurs in the Mahānubhāva literature of the 14th century A. D. From several passages in the *Līlācharitra*, the Marāṭhī biography of Chakradhara the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect, *āsu* appears to have been a silver coin current in Mahārāshṭra in the 13th century A. D. It was equal in value to 24 *dāmas*

71. The Tahaṅkāpār plates mention *Vijayaraja-ṭaṅkas*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 168.

72. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 299, R. D. Banerji takes *Bhagavat* to mean the Buddha, but he has admitted that no such coins stamped with the effigy of the Buddha have been discovered. As the inscription has been composed in a slipshod manner *Bhagavan-mudrayā* may be a mistake for *Bhagavati-mudrayā*. In that case the well known coins of Gaṅgeyadeva stamped with the effigy of Lakshmi would be meant.

73. *Smṛiti-sthala* edited by V. N. Deshpande, p. 37.

74. Cunningham thought that the *pañchīyaka drammās* were so called because they were equivalent to five *boddikas*. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar they were issued by the local panchayats.

75. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-77.

76. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 168. The editor of this record has missed this important word.

77. The Rajim stone inscription of Jagapāla dated K. 896 mentions this place as *Sarāharagaḍha*.

which were copper coins⁷⁸. The *Līlācharitra* speaks in one place of a *pāṇna āsu* or three-quarter *āsu* which shows that lower denominations of one-quarter, one-half and three-quarter *āsus* were also current.

The Siyaḍonī inscription mentions *viṃśopakas* which were evidently copper coins. They were so called because they were equal in value to one-twentieth of a *dramma*. This appears quite clear from line 20 of that inscription which first mentions in words a monthly tax of half a *Vigrahatuṅgiya*⁷⁹ *dramma* and then states the same in figures as *vi 10* (i. e., 10 *viṃśopakas*.) One *dramma* was therefore equal to twenty *viṃśopakas*. The Bilhāri stone inscription mentions *śodaśika*⁸⁰ which, on the analogy of *viṃśopaka*, must have signified a copper coin equal in value to one-sixteenth *dramma*. *Paura*,⁸¹ *kaparda* and *dyūta-kaparda* are other coins mentioned in the same inscription. The first of these was probably a Silver coin and the rest small copper coins.

It is not known to what weight-standard the copper coins were struck. The copper coins of Gaṅgeyadeva and the Chandellas described by Cunningham⁸² weighed from 41 to 61 grains, but it is not possible to assess the loss in weight due to rust, wear and tear. The average weight of fairly well preserved copper coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur is about 100 grains. Allowing for loss of weight due to wear and tear, they may be supposed to have been struck to the ancient Indian standard of the *Kārshāpana* which was 146 grains.⁸³ These coins therefore represent the *viṃśopakas* and *pañas*

78. See *Līlācharitra* (Marāṭhī) ed. by H. N. Nene, part iii, pp. 50-51. *Āsu* is mentioned in the Pāṭaṇ inscription of the time of Yādava Singhaṇa, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 343. *Dāma*, though derived from Sanskrit *dramma* signified a copper coin. In the passage referred to 18 *dāmas* are said to be equal in value to a three-quarter *āsu*.

79. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 175. *Vigrahatuṅgiya dramma* was probably identical with the *Vigrahapāliya dramma* mentioned in the same inscription.

80. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 262.

81. This coin is not mentioned elsewhere. The Bilhāri inscription lays down a tax of four *pauras* on every elephant and of two *pauras* on every horse (sold in the local market). For a similar tax, see the Haraha stone inscription *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 64 and the Bayana stone inscription *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 124. A tax of one *paura* was levied for a couple of *Yugās* and also for measurement (*bharaka*).

82. Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, pp. 72 and 79.

83. [In contemporary times, we do not come across any dynasty issuing copper pieces weighing in the neighbourhood of 144 grains. Wear and tear also cannot account for the loss of as many as 40 grains. The normal weight of the copper coins issued by the Tomaras, the Gahadwalas and the Chauhanas is in the vicinity of 50 grains, the same is the case with the copper issues of Gaṅgeyadeva. The copper coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, which weigh about 100 grains, would appear to be a denomination, double the size of the normal copper piece. Editor A. S. A.]

which are mentioned in the records of mediæval India⁸⁴. The Copper coins described by Cunningham were probably half-panas⁸⁵. According to Vāchaspati cited by Mahendra⁸⁶, such half-panas were called *bindukas*. Lower denominations of copper coins such as *vāḍṛī* or *kakīṇī* and *gaṇḍa* are mentioned by Sanskrit lexicographers and commentators and some of them may be represented by the smaller Kalachuri copper coins which are often found in Chhattisgarh. But these coins are so much worn and so irregular in weight that it is often difficult to say what denominations they represent. *Kapardī*⁸⁷ is the lowest copper coin mentioned in the Kalachuri inscriptions.

84. The Siyadonī inscription mentions *vinīśopakas* and the Kāman stone inscription of about the same time, which I have recently edited in the *Ep. Ind.* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 329 ff.) mentions *panas* as well as *drammas*.

85. Cunningham was right in supposing that forty of these copper coins were equivalent to one dramma. See his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. X, p. 27.

86. See *Anekārthasaṅgraha* of Hemachandra, ed. by Zachariae, Commentary p. 25.

87. This corresponds to the coin *kavadū* which is frequently mentioned in the *Lilacharitra*, see *Lilacharitra*, *uttarārḍha*, ed. by H. N. Nene, pp. 59, 92, 125 etc. The Bilhāri stone inscription mentions *dyūtakaparda* which also was probably a copper coin and was so called apparently because it was frequently used for betting in gambling.

SILVER COINS OF THE HAIHAYA PRINCES OF MAHĀKOSALA

BY PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA, BALPUR

Silver coins of the Haihaya princes of Tummāna and Ratanpur are very rare. During my search extending over twenty years, I have come across only three tiny silver coins of Prithvīdeva, who is presumably Prithvīdeva II.

So far scholars had even doubted the very existence of any silver currency of the Haihaya princes. In the absence of any such silver coins the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal had to write in the *Rāyapura Rāsmi*¹, the Hindi Gazetteer of the Raipur District, 'Although gold coins of the time of the Haihaya rulers (of Mahākosala) are found, no silver coins have yet come to light'.

Recently however three silver coins of King Prithvīdeva of this dynasty have come to light. The first of those was obtained by me on 20-11-1934 from a band of gold-dust washers, one of whom had found it in the bed of the Mahānadī. I have referred to this find in my paper on 'Types and Legends of Haihaya Coins of Mahākosala', published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XII, pp. 169 ff.

So far as I can recollect now, the device on the reverse appeared to be a lion, as there were traces of such a figure. It was a circular coin and was identical in respect of shape, size, legend and device with the second coin which is described here. I had noted down its weight also on the cover in which it was kept. Unfortunately this coin is now missing, together with some other interesting coins, including the most perfect specimen of the hexagonal coins of Pratāpamalla, which I had not been able to publish by that time.

The second silver coin of the same king Prithvīdeva II fortunately came to my hands through the agency of a gold-dust washer named Sonsai on 7-10-1938. It has been purchased for the Mahākosala Historical Society and is deposited in its cabinet.

Through the courtesy of Mr. R. G. Gyani, M. A., of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, it was cleaned in October 1939. After cleaning, it was found to be of pure silver.

1. Published in 1925 by Mr. Gokul Prasad, Asst. Commissioner of Income tax, C. P.

2. For the measurement of the size and weight as well as its photograph, I am indebted to Mr. M. A. Suboor of the Central Museum, Nagpur,

At Calcutta, during the session of the Numismatic Society of India, held there on the 17th and 18th of December 1939, a number of numismatists examined it and confirmed my reading and identification of both the legend and the device on it.

I describe this coin below :—

	Obverse	Reverse
AR. Size, .35" ; Wt. 6 grains.	[Śrī]mat-P[ri-]	Traces of the figure of a lion.

(Pl. III, No. 12)

The third silver coin was obtained by me on 8-10-1940 from another gold-dust washer at Balpur from the bed of the Mahānadi. It is exactly similar to the second coin described above. The reverse has clear traces of the figure of a lion, as found on other copper coins of this dynasty.

A SHIP-TYPE COIN OF YAJÑA SĀTAKARṆI

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., NAGPUR.

Recently Mr. P. Seshadri Sastri of Guntur handed over four lead coins found at Chebrol in the Guntur District, to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy, Ootacamund. The latter very kindly lent them to me for decipherment and exhibition at the annual session of the Numismatic Society of India. On cleaning the coins I found that one of them was useless for numismatic purposes as it had no legend on it. Another coin has the figure of a *chaitya* with three arches with the incomplete legend *Raño V[ā]s[i]ṭh[i]* on the obverse and the Ujjaini symbol on the reverse. It therefore belongs either to the Sātavāhana king Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi or to Vāsishṭhīputra Srī-Chandra Sātakarṇi¹. The other two coins are of Yajña Sātakarṇi. One of them has the *chaitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent with the legend *[Ya*]ña-S[ā]takaṇ[i][sa*]* on the obverse and the usual Ujjaini symbol on the reverse². The other coin, which is published here with the kind permission of Dr. Chhabra, is the most interesting of all. It has the figure of a two-masted ship with a fish and a conch indicating the sea below and the legend *[Ra*]ña Samasa sar[i] Yaña Satakaṇasa* representing *Raṇa Sāmisa Siri Yaña Sātaṇasa* running along the edge on the obverse, and the Ujjaini symbol on the reverse. Its diameter is .8" and weight 121 grains.



(Scale 1.4)

This coin is important in several respects. Some lead coins bearing the figure of a two-masted ship on the obverse have indeed been discovered before, but the legend on almost all of

1. See Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras etc. in the British Museum*, London, 1905, pp. 29-30.

them was found completely obliterated. See, for instance, coins Nos. 95, 96 and 103 described in Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Āndhras* etc., pp. 22-3 and illustrated on Pl. V. Only in one case Rapson has attempted to read the legend as *S[ī]ri Pu[lu—]vasa*. He was however very diffident about the correctness of this reading on account of the extraordinary arrangement of the coin-legend which it presupposes³; for, according to that reading the legend commenced at x, but immediately before it appeared the last two *aksharas* *v[ī]sa* of the royal name *Pulumāvisa*.⁴ Vincent Smith has expressed the opinion that these ship-type coins should probably be referred to the reign of Yajña-śrī, but he has neither cited any authority, nor given his reading of the legend in support of his view⁵. We have now a clear specimen of this ship-type, of which the reading is absolutely certain. It confirms V. Smith's conjecture that these coins were issued by Yajña Sātākarni. The legend is noteworthy in two other respects. Firstly, it contains no metronymic such as is generally found on the coins from the Āndhra-deśa. Secondly, it contains the title *Sāmi* (Sanskrit, *Svāmin*) which has not so far been noticed on any coins of the Sātavāhanas. In all other cases of Sātavāhana coins the title *rājān* was found prefixed to the royal name⁶. Rapson has noted that the title *Svāmin* occurs on the coins of the Kshatrapas⁷, but apparently he had not noticed the use of it anywhere on Sātavāhana coins. The present coin shows that the title was used by Yajña Sātākarni on his ship-type coins. Finally, these coins were till now known to have been found chiefly along the Coromandel coast between Madras and Cuddalore. The coins were therefore taken to indicate that there was a temporary extension of the Āndhra dominion into the Pallava territory during the reign of Pulumāvi⁸. The present coin comes from the Guntur District which lies far to the north of Madras. It is now clear that these ship-type coins

3. *Ibid.*, v[ī]sa p. 22, n. 2 and *Intro.* p. lxxxii. His reading was Obv.

(X) *S[ī]ri-Pu[lu—](ix)*

4. [This arrangement results in the separation of the letters *Pulu* from the immediately succeeding letters *māvisa* by about three fifths of the circumference of the coin. Editor, A. S. A.]

5. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, (Fourth Ed.), p. 223. In his article 'Āndhra History and Coinage' in *Z. D. M. G.* for 1902 and 1903 V. A. Smith says that these coins bear no legend. Prof. H. C. Raychaudhari follows Smith, but points out that according to Rapson's reading the coins were struck by Pulumāvi. See his *Political History of Ancient India*, (Third Ed.), p. 340.

6. Rapson, *B. M. C.*, *Intro.* p. cxc. The present coin also has a superfluous *na* (of *raṇa*) before *samasa*. Rapson says that only on the potin coins of the Āndhras from the Chāṇḍā District the title *rājān* does not occur; but the Tarhālā board described by me (*J. N. S. I.* No. 2, pp. 83 ff.) has shown that these Sātavāhana coins of Vidarbha also had this title.

7. Rapson, *B. M. C.*, *Intro.* p. xcxi.

8. *Ibid.*, *Intro.*, p. lxxxii.

of Yajña Sātakarṇi were also current along with other types such as *Chaitya*, horse and elephant in the Andhra-deśa.

The present coin enables us to control the readings of some other coins listed by Rapson. The legend on the ship-type coin No. 95 which Rapson read as (x) $\bar{S}[a]ri-Pu[lu-]$ (ix) $v[a]sa$ should be read as $[S\bar{a}]m[i]sa\ s[i]ri-Pu[lu-]$. From Pl. V of Rapson's *Catalogue* it is not clear whether even the *akshara pu* of the royal name *Pulu* could be read with certainty on coin No. 95. The last two *aksharas* of the name in the genitive case which Rapson thought preceded *siri* were plainly part of the title *Sāmisa*. The reading *Pulūmāvisa* of the legend on coin No. 95 in his *Catalogue* is therefore extremely doubtful, and on no other coin in his or others' catalogues do we find that name quite clear. In the present state of our knowledge therefore, Yajña Sātakarṇi seems to be the first Sātavāhana king who issued these ship-type coins.

In his *Catalogue* Rapson refers to certain lion-type coins the legend on which, according to him, contains a royal name ending in $-s[\bar{a}]misa$.⁹ These he ascribes to an Andhra king, probably Pulūmāvi¹⁰, whose name ended in $-svāmin$. But in this case also, *sāmisa* which precedes *siri* is only the royal title in the genitive case, and not part of any royal name. We need not therefore admit the existence of any Sātavāhana king whose name ended in *svāmin* until it is proved by clear specimens of his coins.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 24. The legend does not end with $-sāmisa$, as supposed by Rapson. It begins with it.

10. The reason given by Rapson for this identification is that in a Nāsik inscription Pulūmavi is called *Navanarasvāmi*. *Svāmin* was an old Indian title meaning a king. It is prefixed in inscriptions to the names of Yajña Sātakarṇi and Chāḍa Sāta also. See Lüders' List, Nos. 1024, 1146, 1841 etc.

A NOTE ON SOME IMPORTANT COINS AND SEALS FOUND AT RAIRH IN JAIPUR STATE

By Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Director General of
Archæology in India, New Delhi.

NOTE ON THE COINS.

The coins included in the present group are 30 in number, including one (R. 2587) found in the excavations and 29 on the surface. I understand that apart from 3,000 and odd coins of the punch-marked variety which Rairh has yielded, a large number were picked up on the surface by labourers set apart for this purpose. Another place where the find of a large number of coins on the surface has been recorded is Nagar or Karkot Nagar in Uniara Thikana in Jaipur State where Carlleyle found 'coins lying as thick as sea-shells on the shore'. A large majority of the latter were the small Mālava coins well-known to numismatists, but in the present small lot, a number of really interesting and unique coins of other types have been found. Curiously none of the small Mālava coins with legends mostly beginning with *ma* have been found in Rairh. The rich possibilities of numismatic discovery in the Jaipur State are shown by the fact that Rairh has produced, besides several thousands of punch-marked coins, the unique type of Senāpati's issues and, in the present lot, half a dozen hitherto unknown issues.

The coin found in the excavations is of variety B of the Uddehika coinage with the legend *Suyamitasa* (Sūryamitrasya). The coin (Pl. IVA No. 1) is a much better specimen than the one in the British Museum figured in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate XXXV 17. The mention of the Uddehikas by Varāhamihira and their location by him in the Middle Country is in accord with the present find, but what is interesting is the fact that this Sūryamitra has another epithet on a set of coins in the present lot. These may be described as variety C of the Uddehika coinage. In this variety the word *sudavapa* is at the top and the name Sūryamitra on the left side; there is a striking representation of a meandering river with fish on the reverse (Pl. IVA No. 2). The Uddehika coins of this new variety are larger in size; they must also originally have been heavier in weight than what they are now, viz. 44 grains. The elephant and 'tank with fish' of the Uddehika coins, variety B, are not found on the new type nor are the hill, sun, river and Ujjain symbol of the other found in

the former. The Ujjain symbol however is common to the new variety and variety A (Allan, Pl. XXXV No. 16.). Above all, the legend which is inscribed at right angle to *Sūyamitasa* is *Sudavapa*, which is apparently a title or a family name. The latter possibility is increased by the fact that along with the four coins of this type of *Sūryamitra*, there are six more coins in which the same title *sudavapa* is applied to another king named *Dhruvamitra* (Pl. IVA Nos. 3). Most of the coins of the latter have the elephant instead of the bull, as is the case with the variety B of *Uddehika* coins (Pl. IVA No. 1); but the occurrence of other symbols, and in particular, the wavy 'river with fish', makes it certain that the coins belong to the same series. Three varieties of *Dhruvamitra* and two of *Sūryamitra* are noticeable in these coins, and counter-marks indicate that the coins must have been long in circulation and passed through the hands of assayers. The names *Sūryamitra* and *Dhruvamitra* are found in the *Pañchāla* series of coins as well, but there is little affinity between the two sets of currency. Two other *Sūryamitras* are known from coins; one of these, from Mathura, has an entirely different type, and the other is said to hail from Kanauj. The *Sūryamitra* of the latter coins is however most likely to be the same ruler who issued the *Rairh* coins, as all the three symbols on the Kanauj coins (Allan, *Catalogue*, Pl. XIX No. 12) are found in the *Rairh* group. Altogether the 13 coins of the *Mitra* rulers form a most interesting group.

Another group of 7 coins, that are known for the first time from *Rairh*, are distinguished by the legend *Vapu* in early *Brāhmī* characters having a long vertical. They fall in two groups; the three large square coins weigh from 35 to 56 grains, while the smaller ones weigh only 4 to 6 grains. They may be said to partake of the characters both of punch-marked and cast coins, inasmuch as a number of symbols have been punched on their obverse, while the reverse is invariably concave, with the Ujjain symbol and the legend *Vapu* (Pl. IVA Nos. 4, 5). The four tiny specimens have the convex side blank, but the Ujjain and hill symbols and the legend *Vapu* occur on the concave side. The period of these *Vapu* types is intermediate between the period of the punch-marked and the cast coins, namely about 250 to 150 B. C.

Six coins varying in weight from 2 to 12 grains belong to the well-known *Mālava* types in which the tree and railing and bull with the legend *Mālavāna jāya* occur. A type with a standing figure and another with the *triśūla* on one side and a trident and axe combined on the other appear to be unique.

An interesting coin with blank reverse but with a number of punch-marked symbols in a square incuse, is unfortunately

not attributable. Among the symbols, the Ujjain symbol, and the branch of a tree with a central boss with crescents on four sides are traceable, as also some letters including *sa*.

One of the coins is a fragmentary coin of Brahmamitra of Mathura, another is a silver plated coin of the Indo-Sassanian period and a third is a fragment of a coin of Apollodotus.

NOTE ON THE SEALS.

The most important seal, and perhaps the most ancient too in the present lot, is No. 1544. It is a lead stamp seal and reads:

L. 1 (*Mā*) *lava-ja-*

L. 2 *napadasa*. (Pl. IVA No. 6)

It is interesting to see that in this seal *Mālava* is called a *janapada*. From inscriptions and coins we know of the era started by the *Mālavas* from the constitution of their tribe (*gana*), but that they had a *janapada* like the other tribes such as *Sibis*, *Rājāṇas* and so on, is known for the first time from this seal.

Sealing No. R. 3022. This has the letters *Vasubhūtiśa* engraved on it, but not stamped. The handle is broken, but the marks of a string passing through are clear. *Vasubhūti* is evidently a personal name.

No. 716 is a square terracotta seal with perforated handle knob. The inscription is engraved in two lines, and written in such a way that one has to turn the seal 180° for reading the second line.

L. 1 *Saravada-*

L. 2 *tasa*, followed by a symbol.

The name is to be interpreted either as *Śarvadatta* or as *Śarabhadatta*.

Seal No. R. 2097. Some sketchy engravings on the surface are difficult to distinguish from each other. The writing seems to go along the outer edge in the first instance, one or two letters being added in the middle. Individual letters like *ta*, *va*, *pa*, can be made out, but they yield no connected sense.

R. 3202—Dark coloured terracotta seal with perforated knob incised with a few scribbled letters, which are not quite clear. It is possible that the letters are not *Brāhmī*.

R. 898—A large lump of clay with one large impression in the centre surrounded by a number of smaller ones. The large impression shows a square railing with a pillar bent at the top end, similar to the one found in the *Yaudheya* coins from *Rohtak* and considered to be a representation of the sacrificial post (*yūpa*). This symbol as well as the one in front, namely the so-called *Ujjain* symbol, is common to the principal

and subsidiary impressions. The main impression, however, also contains another symbol consisting of a triangle based on a rectangle. Similar impressions have been found elsewhere in other excavation sites, but not the particular type seen here.

The letter *ma* is frequent on most of the seals from Rairh and on the next group of five seals, it is a common factor. This may possibly stand for the initial of the word *Mālava*. Even as an ordinary letter, it is the most important of the consonants, being the last component of the Sacred *Om*, and has a religious and mystic significance. As a taurine it has an ancient astronomical value and as a *Nandipāda* its occurrence on coins may have a religious connotation.

R. 838 has a circular stamping surface with a perforation in the neck of the knob. The legend in large letters crudely engraved is *masa*.

Another seal without number has *ma* engraved both at the top of the knob, (which is also perforated), as well as on the surface of the seal; a *svastika* is shown at the top and the letters *masa* occur below. It is noteworthy that the letters also appear flush with the surface as an encrusted motif.

R. 717. The square seal with a perforated knob has only *ma* and the *svastika* engraved, as is also the case with R. 3942, a cone shaped seal in which some *ta* shaped ornament has also been introduced within the arms of the *svastika*.

A button seal R. 3096 has the letters *mada* written in relief.

Lastly we come to two pellet or ball sealings. Of these No. 3003 has two separate impressions, one being a *svastika* and the other an oval one containing four letters. The legend reads *ka(?)risalā* (or *he*). This legend is also shared by the other ball sealing No. 386. The purpose of this type of sealing can only be that of a permit or passport, as it has no arrangement for attaching or stringing with anything else.

ADHYARDHA PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

BY BABU SHRI NATH SAH, BENARES.

The six punch-marked coins, which form the subject of this paper, were obtained from a dealer in Lucknow in 1940. He could not be induced to disclose their find spot, but we may well presume that they were obtained from the United Provinces, which may be taken to be their place of currency during the time they were in vogue.

There are several interesting points about these coins. In their shape and design, they are quite dissimilar to the punch-marked coins attributed to the Mauryan period. The latter are small and thick, the present pieces are thin, broad, oval and saucer-shaped. Their size is as big as 1.25" x 1.12." The number of symbols punched on the obverse of these coins is very large, as would appear from a glance at the Pl. 4B Nos. 1-6. As a rule, each coin has four big and complex symbols; one is at its top, one at the bottom, one on the left and one on the right side; in some cases the symbols opposite to each other appear to be similar or identical (Pl. 4B Nos. 1 and 6). In addition to these big symbols, there are a number of smaller ones, whose number often is in the vicinity of 10 (Pl. 4B Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5). Some of the symbols are quite new to the punch-marked series.

Four out of these six punch-marked coins are absolutely blank on the reverse (Pl. 4B Nos. 3 to 6). Being very thin in fabric and punched only on one side, these coins are cup-shaped in their appearance. Such is not the case with the two remaining coins; as they bear several reverse marks. These coins will thus show that the early punch-marked coins were originally punched only on one side; the marks on the reverse were added later on by the guilds or shroffs through whose hands they passed.

As regards the time of these coins, only a conjecture can be made. They would appear to be more archaic than the Mauryan punch-marked coins and may be at least as old as the 5th century B. C.

The weight of the present coins raises some interesting problems. The normal weight of the punch-marked coins is in the vicinity of 50 grains, and they are taken to correspond with the *Kārshāpana* of the Smṛitis, whose theoretical weight was 32 *rattis* or about 56 grains. The weight of the present coins varies from 75 to 79 grains. It would appear that the original weight of these pieces was five or six grains more, which may represent the loss due to long circulation, as attested to by their worn out condition. The weight of an *adhyardha*

Kārshāpaṇa of 32 *rattis* or 56 grains would be about 84 grains, which seems to have been the original weight of the present pieces. We may therefore take them to be *adhyardha Kārshāpaṇas*. It may be added that $1\frac{1}{2}$ *Kārshāpaṇa* pieces are known to Pāṇini¹.

[The present coins are similar in shape and design to the thirteen punch-marked coins from the Lucknow Museum, published by Babu Durga Prasad in the *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLV, pp. 9-12 and Plates I-III. The latter coins also are thin, broad and saucer-shaped and have on the obverse a group of four big symbols. These latter, however, are not similar to those on the obverse of the present coins. The weight of the coins in the Lucknow Museum varies from 40 to 42 grains; our coins weighing between 75 to 79 grains may probably have been of double the denomination of the Lucknow Museum series. If the Lucknow Museum coins can be described as *Kārshāpaṇas* of a lighter weight standard, that of 24 *Rattis*, the present coins can be regarded as double *Kārshāpaṇas* of the same weight standard. The provenance of the Lucknow Museum coins is not known; so is the case with the present coins. But the present coins were obtained from a dealer in Lucknow and the coins of Babu Durga Prasad's paper are in the Lucknow Museum cabinet. We may therefore describe both these coins as Kośala coins, current in about the 5th century B. C. —Editor, A. S. A.]

1. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. I. 28-9.

A NEW TYPE OF PADMAṬAṆKA.

BY G. H. KHARE, CURATOR, BHARAT ITIHAS SAMSHODHAK
MANDAL, POONA.

In the treasury of the state of Bhor, there are 80 gold *Padma-ṭaṇkas*, which were found in two different places in the Vichitravad and Prachandgad Talukas of the state. These coins are on the whole similar to other *Padma-ṭaṇkas* that have been so far discovered. (1) They are blank on the reverse. (2) They are cup-shaped, (3) and bear an eight petalled lotus in the centre. (4) The conch symbol is at the bottom and the legend is at the top. On the right and left hand sides there are two symbols, which really represent the two halves of the circle (*chakra*), symbol. These have no doubt been taken to stand for the letter *Śrī* of the Telugu-Kannada characters by some numismatists¹; but this does not seem correct. The Telugu-Kannada *Śrī* has only two segments of concentric circles; on our coins, on the other hand, we have three such segments. The coins have the conch and the lotus; we naturally expect the *chakra* to be associated with them. The two halves of the *chakra* symbol, when joined together, will give the symbol below as its complete form;



it has a greater resemblance to what is popularly known as *chakravayūha*, in which the hero Abhimanyu was trapped, than to an ordinary *chakra*. The two halves of this symbol do not always occupy the same place on the coins; sometimes they are seen to the right and sometimes to the left of the coin.

The *Padma-ṭaṇkas* in the Bhor treasury divide themselves into three classes. Of these, classes I and II, bearing the legends *Śrī-Rāma* and *Śrī-Śrī-Rāma* have been already published². Class III however is not yet known to us. It has the usual symbols, but the legend is *Śrī-Lashumā*. The letter *la* has sometimes the Devanāgarī form and sometimes the Marathi one. Below the legend is the sword with its hilt. The specimens of the obverse side of these coins are illustrated at the top of the next page; the reverse side being blank is not shown.

1. J. A. S. B. for 1925, Numismatic Supplement, pp. 6-7

2. Ibid, Elliot, Coins of South India, p. 66.



The attribution of these *Padma-ṭaṅkas* is not free from difficulties. They were first attributed to the Kadamba dynasty ruling during the 5th and the 6th centuries²; but the late form of their palæography compelled Smith³ and Rapson⁴ to assign them to a much later period. In the hoard discovered at Rachapatnam in the Kistna district, *Padma-ṭaṅkas* were found bearing the names of Siṅghaṇa, Kanhara, Mahādiva and Srī-Rāma; Mr. S. R. Aiyangar, therefore, attributed them to the rulers of the Yādava dynasty⁵. The *Padma-ṭaṅkas* in the Bhor treasury, bearing the legend *Srī-Lashumā*, however, cannot be attributed to that dynasty; for no ruler of such a name belonged to it. This name apparently represents a female and is the corrupted form of Śrīlakshmā. The only female of this name who might have struck coins in her name appears to be Lakshmādevī, the chief queen of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI: for it is she who has been mentioned as ruling from the Chālukya capital Kalyāṇa in 1084-85 A.D.⁶

[The palæography of the coins would not go against the above attribution. Coins of the western Chālukyas have three of the symbols appearing on the present coins, the lotus, the conch and the wheel (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. V, No. 17). It is therefore not impossible that the Chālukya queen Lakshmādevī might have issued such coins. We must, however, remember that *Padma-ṭaṅka* coins, indisputably attributable to the rulers of the Chālukyas of Kalyani have not yet been found. In a hoard having numerous coins of Lakshmādevī, we expect to find at least some coins of her husband, Vikramāditya VI, who was the most illustrious and long-lived ruler of the dynasty. Coins issued by queen consorts independently of their husbands during the latter's life time are not known so far to Hindu numismatics. The cases of queens Diddā and Kumāradevī are not in point. Queen Diddā

2. Elliot, *Coins of South India*, p. 66.

3. Smith, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I. p. 317 n.

4. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, section 131.

5. J. A. S. B. for 1925, Numismatic Supplement, pp. 6-9.

6. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. part 2, p. 448.

issued independent coinage only after her husband's death. The coinage of Kumāradevī of the Gupta dynasty is issued jointly with her husband during the latter's rule.

Padma-taṅkas, with a lotus, wheel and conch with some varying additional symbols were being issued from the times of the Western Chālukyas for several centuries. The type was continued by the Yādavas. It seems not improbable that the type may have been continued in private and temple coinages of south India in medieval times. We have got several examples of *Rāma-taṅkas* from south India issued by temple authorities described by Gibbs in *J.A.S.B.* for 1884, pp. 207 ff. pl. VI. These have Rāma, Sītā, Hanumān, monkeys, etc. displayed upon them. It is likely that the coins in the Bhor treasury may be *Padma-taṅkas* issued by temples bearing the names of Rāma and his brother Lakshmaṇa, instead of their portraits. In that case the legend Lashumā would have to be taken as Prakritised abbreviation of Lakshmaṇa and not of Lakshmī. I am inclined to think that the coins in the Bhor treasury are not the issues of any dynasty, but *Padma-taṅkas* of the *Rāma-taṅka* variety, bearing the names and not the portraits of some of the Rāmāyaṇa heroes. Editor, A. S. A.]

THE DATE AND ATTRIBUTION OF THE COINS OF VISHNUGUPTA.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Gold coins of the Archer Type, with the letters *vi* and *shyu* written perpendicularly under the arm of the standing king have long been known to numismatists, but their date and attribution has not yet been satisfactorily settled. These coins were merely found in the Kalighat hoard which consisted mostly of the issues of Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishnugupta. Allan has therefore naturally advanced the view that Vishnugupta may be taken to be the successor of Kumāragupta II.¹ At the time of writing his Catalogue of the Gupta coins, Allan naturally placed Kumāragupta II in c. 530-540 A. D. and Vishnugupta in c. 540 to 550 A. D. We however now know from the later epigraphic discoveries at Sarnath that Kumāragupta II had only a short reign from c. 472 to 477 A. D. The time of Vishnugupta then would be c. 480 A. D. This, however, is very improbable; for we know that the emperor Budhagupta was ruling over the Gupta empire from c. 477 to 495 A. D. Vishnugupta could not have been his feudatory, for no feudatory of the Guptas is known to have issued any gold coinage.

Hoernle had attributed these coins to king Vishnuvardhana.² This ruler is known to have flourished in Central India and the coins of Vishnugupta are known to have been current only in eastern India. Hoernle's attribution is therefore not a probable one.

I think that the coins under discussion should be attributed to king Vishnugupta of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, who was the grandson of Ādityasena and grandfather of Jīvitagupta II. The date of this ruler was known so far only approximately. His grandfather was ruling in 672 A. D. as indicated by his Shahpur image inscription dated in the year 66 of the Harsha era,³ and so he could be placed sometime in the first quarter of the 8th Century A. D. I have however recently discovered at Mangraon in the Shahabad District of Bihar an inscription of this ruler dated in his 17th regnal year and in the 117th year, obviously of the Harsha era. It is thus clear now that Vishnugupta began to rule in 706 A. D. and governed his kingdom at least for 17 years.

1. Allan, *A Catalogue of Indian coins*, Gupta dynasties, pp lx-lxi.

2. *J. R. A. S.* 1909, pp. 181 ff.

3. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp 208-10

There are however certain difficulties in attributing the coins of Vishnugupta to this ruler. Apart from a solitary coin of this ruler that was discovered in 1925 in the Cuttack District,⁴ the coins of this ruler were found only in the Kalighat hoard, which comprised of the coins of only two other rulers besides Vishnugupta, viz., Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta II. It is now definitely known that the two rulers were ruling between c. 467 to c. 477 A. D. How then can it be maintained that the third king represented in the hoard was separated from the other two by a period of not less than 230 years?

This argument would have been conclusive if the contents of the Kalighat hoard were completely known. It is well known that when the coins of this hoard were sent to England by Warren Hastings, the Board of Directors distributed some of them among institutions and collectors and melted down the rest in what Allan has justly described as a mercenary fit. It is therefore quite certain that a number of other kings must have been represented in this hoard. In ancient times the hoarding of gold coins was a great necessity; the hoards in the vaults of long established families used to consist of coins extending over several generations. The Kalighat hoard consisted of more than 200 gold coins; the family which owned this treasure must therefore have been a long established one and might well have preserved coins of more than two centuries. There is nothing impossible in the coinage of Vishnugupta being represented in it. The accidental discovery of a single coin of Vishnugupta in the Cuttack district would show that his kingdom comprised of Orissa as well. His coins therefore could well have been current in Bengal and represented in the Kalighat hoard.

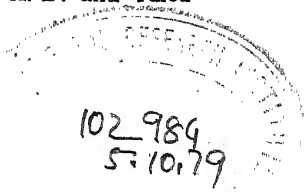
The palæography of the letters on the coins of Vishnugupta, it may be argued, conflicts with the view that he ruled towards the beginning of the 5th century. It is no doubt true that the letters on the coins are decidedly more archaic than those on the lithic records of Vishnugupta and his family found in Bihar. We must however remember that the mintmasters of ancient India had to be very conservative. They continued the use of Greek letters on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka though they had long become extinct. The coins of Parākramabāhu of Ceylon and Rājarāja of the Chole dynasty show Nāgarī letters of Northern India, which were certainly not current in their dominions in the 11th century A. D. Gupta gold coinage had been discontinued for a fairly long time before it was revived by the later Guptas of Magadha. When their mintmasters decided to copy the coinage of the

4. A. S. I. Annual Report for 1926-7 pp. 230.

Imperial Gupta dynasty, they might as well have decided to continue the slightly archaic script current on the prototype.

While giving the account of the concluding period of the Magadha dynasty, the *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakaḥ* observes that in Magadha there was a king named Deva who had a son named Chandra. The reverse of the coins of Vishṇugupta shows that he had the *biruda* of Chandrāditya; and inscriptions show that the name of Vishṇugupta's father was Devagupta. The succession of Devagupta by Vishṇugupta Chandrāditya can therefore be well described as that of king Deva by king Chandra, as has been done in the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ*. The account of this work is often cryptic, enigmatic and confused; but here it supports the conclusion that Vishṇugupta Chandrāditya of the coins is to be identified with king Vishṇugupta of the later Magadha dynasty. The *Mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ* says that Chandra's father was Deva (gupta); the inscriptions show that Vishṇugupta's father was Devagupta; and coins show that Vishṇugupta was the same as Chandrāditya. It is therefore clear that Vishṇugupta Chandrāditya of the coins is identical with Vishṇugupta of the later Gupta dynasty of Magadha who was the son of Devagupta. Otherwise we shall have to suppose that towards the end of the 8th century, there were not only two kings named Vishṇugupta in Magadha, but that the fathers of both of them were also having the same name viz. Devagupta. This is very unlikely.

The balance of the evidence available at present thus supports the view that Vishṇugupta of the coins is to be identified with king Vishṇugupta of the later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, who, we now know, ascended the throne in 706 A. D. and ruled for at least 17 years.



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WAS BERAR THE HOME PROVINCE OF THE
ŚĀTAVĀHANAS?

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No inscription or coin of the Early Śātavāhanas has been discovered in Vidarbha (modern Berar); but a number of coins belonging to some later kings of the dynasty was discovered in the Chanda District to the east of Berar.¹ This fact seems to accord with epigraphic evidence which refers to Vidarbha forming part of the kingdom of Gautamīputra Śātakarni who re-established the glory of the Śātavāhana family after long years of obscurity (due to foreign invasions)² and is therefore called the first Later Śātavāhana king. The capital of the Śātavāhanas, possibly from the earliest times, was at Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithān, lat. 19° 29' N, long. 75° 25' E) on the north bank of the Godāvārī in the Aurangābād District of the Nizam's dominions.³ The western fringe of Vidarbha was not very far from the Śātavāhana capital; it may therefore have often felt the weight of the arms of powerful and aggressive Śātavāhana kings. There is however no proof that Vidarbha as a whole was annexed to the Śātavāhana kingdom before the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarni (c. 107-30 A.D.). The country or a part of it was conquered by the Śaka king Rudradāman before 150 A.D., probably during the reign of Puṣumāvi, Gautamīputra's successor. The Northern Deccan may have been a bone of contention between the Śakas and the Śātavāhanas; but numismatic evidence indicates that the influence of the Śātavāhanas in the Vidarbha region was greater in the period of the Later Śātavāhanas.

A large hoard containing about 1600 coins, all belonging to the Later Śātavāḥana kings has recently been discovered at Tarhālā, about 7 miles from Mangrul in the Akola District in Berar (Vidarbha). Prof. V. V. Mirashi has published a very interesting paper on this hoard in this journal, Vol. II, pp. 83-94. In this paper, it has been suggested (p. 94) that Berar or more particularly a district comprising the territory on both banks of

1. Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 21, 42, 48.

2. Cf. his epithets खखरातवसनिवसेत्कर, सातवाहनकुलयसपतिथापनकर and सकयवनपह्वनिसदन (*E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60).

3. See J.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, p.123; J.B.O.R.S., 1930, p.290; Ptolemy, *Geog.*
VII. 1. 6. D.C. Bhattacharya *IBD*, loc. cit. VII. Raychandhuri *P.H.A.I.* n. 346.

the Waingāṅgā "was the home province of the Śātavāhanas." The theory is based on the following three arguments :—

Firstly, "the discovery of this large hoard in Berar raises the interesting question of the home of the Śātavāhanas".

Secondly, "in the Hāthīgumphā inscription the king Khāravela of Kalinga is said to have dispatched a strong army to the west, disregarding Śātakarṇi and to have reached (*sic.* the army reached) the Kaṇhabemṇā. This plainly indicates that the kingdom of Śātakarṇi...lay to the west of Kalinga, probably in Vidarbha". The Kaṇhabemṇā=Kṛṣṇavenā has been identified with the Kanhān, a tributary of the Waingāṅgā. "The Śātavāhanas were therefore ruling over ancient Vidarbha in the time of Khāravela".

Thirdly, in the Nasik inscription No. 4 Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is called *Benākātaka-svāmī*, lord of Benākātaka. Benā or Venā was an ancient name of the Waingāṅgā. This district on the Waingāṅgā was the home of the Śātavāhanas.

As regards the *first argument*, it will be seen that the coins of the Tarhālā hoard and those found in the Chanda District belong to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, 24th king of the *Matsya Purāṇa* list of Andhra (*sic.* Śātavāhana) rulers, and his successors. They therefore do not prove Vidarbha's relations with the earlier kings of the dynasty.

In answer to the *second argument*, one may quote the following passage of the Hāthīgumphā inscription : दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकर्णि पछिमदिसे हयगजनररघबहुलं दंडं पठापयति, कल्लवेणागताय च सेनाय वितासिति मुसिकनगरं,

"In the second (regnal) year, (Khāravela) without taking Śātakarṇi into consideration, sent to the western direction, an army consisting of a large number of horses, elephants, men and chariots; (he) also threatened Musikanagara with the army which reached Kaṇhabemṇā (=Kṛṣṇabenā, i.e., the Kistna)." The passage no doubt proves that Śātakarṇi's country lay to the west of Kalinga, the kingdom of Khāravela; but it certainly does not prove that the Śātavāhana kingdom is to be identified with Vidarbha and not with the district round Pratiṣṭhāna which seems to have been their capital. The kingdom of Śātakarṇi has moreover nothing to do with the Kaṇhabemṇā, which is mentioned in connection with the subsequent engagement of Khāravela's army against Musikanagara, city of the Musikas. *Musikanagara* however appears to be a wrong reading for *Asikanagara*,⁴ city of the Asikas=Rṣikas of the Purāṇas.⁵

4. *L.H.Q.*, vol. XIV, p. 463.

5. Patañjali's *Ārṣika* (*Mahābhāṣya*, IV, 2, 2) seems to have been derived from *Rṣika*.

Asikanagara was probably situated on the bank (possibly the left bank) of the Kistna, and the Asika country thus lay to the south of the Śātavāhana kingdom which may be called Mūlaka that had its capital at Pratiṣṭhāna.⁶ This position of the Asika country is also supported by the passage : असिक-असक-मूळक-सुरठ-कुपुरापरंत-अनूप-विदभ-आकरावति (= ऋषिकाश्मक-मूळक-सुराष्ट्र-कुपुरापरान्तानूप-विदर्भाकरावन्ति)⁷ which refers to the countries under Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. The countries appear to be mentioned here according to proximity, beginning the list in the south and ending it in the north.⁸ The geographical connotation of the above names may not have remained the same in different periods of history ; but in the age of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi also the Asika country seems to have been on the Kistna, to the south of Āśmaka and Mūlaka on the Godāvarī. If Asikanagara was situated on the Kanhān, Asika and Vidarbha could not have been separately mentioned in the above list. It will thus be seen that the Hāthīgumphā inscription does not prove any relation of the Śātavāhanas with the Kanhān.

With reference to the *third argument*, it may be noticed that of all Śātavāhana records only two refer to the issuers as lords of particular localities. Nasik inscription No. 4 begins with the sentence : सेनाये वेजयंतिये विजयखधावारा गोवधनस बेनाकटकस्वामि, गोतमिपुतो सिरिसदकणि आणपयति गोवधने अमच विबुपालित, "Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, lord of Benākataka of Govardhana (Nasik region) sends orders from the victorious camp of the conquering army to the governor Viṣṇupālita (stationed) at Govardhana". Nasik inscription No. 3 begins with : नवनरस्वामि वासिठिपुतो सिरिपुलमावि आणपयति, "Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Pulumāvi, lord of Navanara,^{8a} orders". The mention of the kings as बेनाकटकस्वामी and नवनरस्वामी here very probably indicates that at the time of issuing the charters the kings were residing not as usual at the capital but at the particular places mentioned. If बेनाकटकस्वामी of one of the records proves that the original home of the Śātavāhanas was at Benākataka, नवनरस्वामी may likewise prove a quite different "original home" of the dynasty, and evidently none of these two localities has anything to do with the actual home of the Śātavāhanas. What is however more important is that we have the word गोवधनस before बेनाकटकस्वामी. According to the convention 'सापेक्षत्वेऽपि गमकत्वात्समासः' the passage गोवधनस बेनाकटकस्वामी would mean "lord of Benākataka in (the district of)

6. Cf. मूळकस्स पत्तिट्ठानं in the Burmese text of the *Pārāyana*, V, 36 (*J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. IX, pt. iii, p. 8).

7. *E.I.*, vol. VIII, p. 60.

8. Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. IX, pt. iii, p. 9.

8a. *Navanara* is Sanskrit *Nava-nagara*, the new city ; cf. Kusinārā = Kusinagara. It was probably near the old capital, i. e., Pratiṣṭhāna.

Govardhana". This Benākāṭaka was therefore a locality in the Nasik region and not a place on the banks of the Wain-gaṅgā which is about 380 miles from Nasik⁹. Benākāṭaka was no doubt a place on a river called Beṇā. Beṇā, Beṇṇā, Veṇā or Veṇṇā¹⁰ was however a common name of several rivers of ancient India. Even Vidarbha had at least two, viz., (1) Waingāṅgā = Veṇā-gaṅgā and (2) Pēgaṅgā = Beṇā-gaṅgā which is about 85 miles from Paithān and about 145 miles from Nasik. Even if गोवधनस before वेनाकटकस्वामी be supposed to be a mistake (for विदभस), the presence of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi on the Pēgaṅgā or the Waingāṅgā should be explained as connected with his conquest of, or one of his campaigns in, Vidarbha¹¹. If however the language of the record is taken as it is, we have to look for in the Nasik region a Beṇā which may even be a small stream and may have changed its name afterwards, and have to place the Benākāṭaka of the Nasik record on that stream. Thus the Nasik inscription No. 4 does not prove that the home province of the Śātavāhanas was on the Wain-gaṅgā in Vidarbha.¹²

The Plate published with Prof. Mirashi's paper is not quite satisfactory, and it is impossible to examine his readings of the coin-legends with its help.

PROF. MIRASHI'S REPLY

I have to thank the Editor of this Journal for giving me an opportunity to express my views on the points raised in Dr. D. C. Sircar's article. I state them briefly here.

(1) It is no doubt true that no inscriptions and coins of the Early Śātavāhanas have yet been found in Vidarbha, but this argument like a double-edged sword cuts the ground from under the feet of Dr. Sircar himself; for no such early

9. The distances are calculated from the Survey of India maps.

10. Cf. *veni* meaning both "a stream" and "a braid of hair".

11. Cf. *सेनाये वैजयन्तिये विजयखड्गवारा*; I do not think now that *Vaijayanti* here has anything to do with the ancient name of Banavāsī in the North Kanara District.

12. It appears that the Śātavāhana friend of Nagarjuna, referred to by the Chinese as Santaka (cf. the Puranic spellings *Śāntikarṇa*, *Śāntakarna* or *Śāntakarṇi*) and by the *Harṣacharita* as *trisaṃudrādhipati* (cf. *trisaṃudatoya-Śātavāhana* in the Nasik inscription No. 2), is no other than Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who ruled over the Vidarbha region. We need not again assign Kanishka I to the time of Nagarjuna in the 2nd century A. D., as Kanishka II (contemporary of Gautamīputra) of the Āra inscription actually ruled in that century. Nagarjuna's native place appears to have been near the boundary line between Vidarbha and South Kosala, and it may have sometimes formed part of the one country and sometimes of the other. See Watters, *E.C.*, II, p. 207; Raychaudhuri, *o. c.*, p. 391; Rapson, *o. c.*, pp. lxi-ii; Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 143.

records or coins have been found even at Pratiśṭhāna which he regards as 'the capital of the Śātavāhanas possibly from the earliest times.' From Vidarbha, on the other hand, we have this large hoard which establishes the connection of that country with the Śātavāhana dynasty at least from the time of Gautamīputra to that of the last king Puṣumāvi IV.

(2) The Hāthīgumphā inscription states that Khāravela's army which had reached the Kañhabennā threatened Musikanagara. The location of this city is uncertain. As Messrs. Jayaswal and Banerji have pointed out, the Mūshikas are mentioned with the Vanavāsas in the *Mahābhārata*.¹ But it is doubtful if Khāravela's army penetrated as far as North Kanara within one year. Dr. Sircar proposes to read Asikanagara in place of Musikanagara and places this city on the left bank of the Kṛishṇā which he takes as identical with the Kañhabennā mentioned in Khāravela's inscription. This reading also does not solve the difficulty; for a verse in the *Mahābhārata*² connects the Rishikas with the Western Anūpa country. It is well known that Anūpa was the name of the country, of which the capital was Māhishmatī, modern Māndhātā in the Nimār District of the Central Provinces. On the other hand, if the Rishika country was situated somewhere to the south-east of Anūpa, it is not impossible that its capital was threatened by Khāravela's army when it reached the Kanhān. It is not necessary that the city should have been situated on the Kanhān itself. This argument must of course remain inconclusive until Musikanagara is definitely located.

(3) In interpreting *Senāye vejyantiye vijayakhadhāvārā Govadhanasa Benākatakasvāmī Gotamīputo siri-Sadakaṇi ānapuyati*, Dr. Sircar connects *Govadhanasa* with *Benākatakasvāmī* which he takes as a *sāpeksha-samāsa*. According to him the expression means that Gautamīputra was the lord of Benākataka of Govardhana, i. e., he was then residing not at the capital, but at Benākataka in (the district of) Govardhana. But in that case, the proper expression would have been *vijayakhadhāvārā Govadhane Benākatakavāsakā* 'from the victorious camp pitched at Benākataka in Govardhana.' In inscriptional literature we have several instances of royal orders being issued from places where the particular kings who issued the orders were residing temporarily, but we do not find these kings calling themselves 'lords' of the particular places where their camp was fixed for the time being. As for Benākataka

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 83. From the *Vāyupurāṇa* the Mūshikas appear to be contiguous to Strirājya which the *Jayamagadā* places in the western part of the Vindhya country, *loc. cit.*

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 62.

being situated in Govardhana, I draw attention to the following remarks of M. Senart³ which will show that *Govadhanasa* is better connected with *vijayakhadhārārā* in the aforementioned sentence. :—‘As to the genitive *Govadhanasa*, it could certainly be explained as governed implicitly by *Benākātaka* and pointing out the district where the place is situated. It seems, however, much more probable⁴ that it must be construed with *skandhāvārā*. The sequence of words would then appear somewhat less regular ; but the presence of another genitive, *senāye Vējayantiye*, may have caused *Govadhanasa* to be placed after *vijayakhadhārārā*.’ In the proposed construction of *Govadhanasa* with *vijayakhadhārārā*, the sequence of words is not quite unusual ; for we have several instances, in the Nasik inscriptions, of dependent words being placed after the words they qualify ; see e. g., *senāye vējayantiye* (No. 4, line 1) ; *bhikhūnam Teraphukānam* (No. 5, 1.9) ; *Mugūlāsasa saparivārāsa* (No. 8) ; *bhikhusaṅghasa chātudisasa* (No. 6, 1.4) besides *chātudisasa bhikhusaṅghasa* (No. 7, 1.4). Besides, if *Benākātaka* was situated in the Govardhana district, there was no necessity to mention its situation in a record meant to be incised in a cave of the same district ; for it must have been well known there. On the other hand, if *Govadhanasa* is construed with *vijayakhadhārārā*, it would be in the usual style of inscriptional records which generally mention the place where the royal camp was pitched at the time of issuing the particular order. It has been pointed out that this order was issued by Gautami-putra soon after he conquered Northern Mahārāshṭra from the Śakas.⁵ As he was not previously ruling over that country, he calls himself *Benākātakisvāmi* ‘lord of Benākātaka’ after his home-province Benākātaka. The argument based on the use of *Navanarasvāmi* as an epithet of Puṣumāvi in another inscription at Nasik does not weaken my position, because Navanara (or, Navanagara) may have been a second capital of Puṣumāvi or may have been a new name given by him to Pratishthāna.⁶

Benā or Bennā may have been a common name of several rivers in ancient India, but not all rivers (let alone small streams) give their names to the districts through which they flow. Dr. Sircar has yet to discover a river of that name in the ancient Govardhana (modern Nasik) district. He will next have to show by independent evidence that the country on its banks was known as Benākātaka in ancient times. On the other hand, for the identification of Benākātaka with the province on

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 72.

4. The italics are mine.

5. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhras etc.*, Introd., p. xlviii.

6. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar also takes it as another name of Pratishthāna.

the banks of the Waingāṅgā, we have the testimony of a passage in the *Mahābhārata*. It states that Sahadeva defeated the kings of Veṇākāṭa⁷ and Kosala after subduing Bhīṣmaka, the lord of Bhojakāṭa. The identification of Bhojakāṭa with a part of Vidarbha is supported by inscriptional evidence⁸. Kosala is plainly Dakṣiṇa Kosala (modern Chhattīsgarh). Veṇākāṭa which was evidently situated between these two countries could have been none other than the country on the bank of the Waingāṅgā. This is further corroborated by the statement in the Tiroḍi plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II that Kosambakhaṇḍa (modern Kosambā in the Bhaṇḍārā District) was situated in the *apara-paṭṭa* (Western Division) of Bennākāṭa⁹.

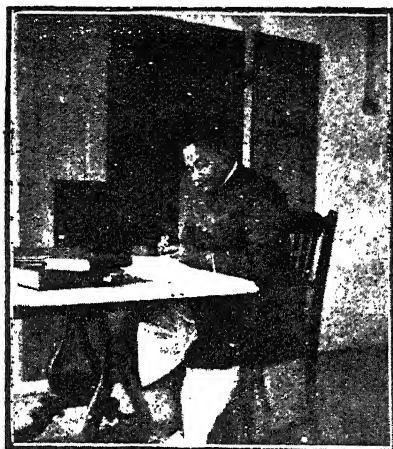
Finally, Dr. Sircar complains that it is impossible to examine my readings of the coins with the help of the Plate published with my paper. The quality of an illustrative plate of coins depends as much on the condition of the coins as on the skill of the photographer and the blockmaker. But there need be no doubt about the correctness of my readings. When I read the paper at the Calcutta sessions of the Numismatic Society in December 1939, I exhibited the coins which were examined by several scholars who were present there such as Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Dr. A. S. Altekar and Prof. J. N. Banerjea. None of them expressed any doubts about the correctness of my readings. The coins are now preserved in the Nagpur Museum. I am sure that the authorities of the Museum will be glad to supply their casts to any scholars who would like to examine them personally.

7. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparvan, ch. 31, v. 12. For the reading *Veṇākāṭa*, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 170, n. 6.

8. The Chammak plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II record the grant of Chammāṅka in the Bhojakāṭa kingdom. See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 237.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

LATE BABU DURGA PRASAD, B.A.



OBITUARY

We profoundly regret to record the death of Babu Durga Prasad, B.A., who died in Benares on the 23rd of March 1941 after a protracted illness. Babu Durga Prasad, who was a very active and distinguished member of the Numismatic Society of India for a long time, came from a well-to-do family of Benares. He was a man of parts. He had great interest in physics and chemistry and used to construct his own thermometres and barometres. He was a student of music and astronomy and was an artist in the widest sense of the term. He could construct and repair watches and many other machines. The marble relief map of India, which is exhibited in the Bhāratamātā temple at Benares, built by Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta and opened by Mahatma Gandhi, was constructed under his able guidance and supervision. It is a great feat of art and accuracy. Babu Durga Prasad was a close student of Rajput, Mogul and Pahari paintings and had himself acquired a great proficiency both in drawing and painting. He has to his credit a number of water colour and oil paintings, illustrating landscapes and animal life, for some of which he had received medals in All-India exhibitions. His mastery in drawing and painting helped him a good deal in his study and researches in punch-marked coins.

Babu Durga Prasad was a great numismatist and was interested in almost all the branches of Indian numismatics. He was also a great and successful collector of coins; his collection included the coins of all the periods of Indian history and was undoubtedly one of the best ones ever made by a private individual. He was good and generous enough to give part of his silver and copper collection to the Hindu University and the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

Babu Durga Prasad will be long remembered for his contributions to the elucidation of the punch-marked currency. The Numismatic Society of India had recognised his work in this field by awarding him a special Gold Medal in 1934. In his booklet, *'Observations on the silver Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India and their Age'* published in 1931, Babu Durga Prasad was the first scholar to point out that some varieties of the punch-marked coinage could be definitely attributed to the Mauryas. His analysis of the symbols found on the punch-marked coins published in *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLV, was more accurate and masterly than that of any of his predecessors. He was able to suggest some kind of workable chronology for the different types of the punch-marked currency. He intended to publish his further studies in punch-marked coins in a special monograph but the cruel hand of death has cut short that project and deprived numismatists of the results of his mature studies.

Babu Durga Prasad used to take active part in public life. He was one of the secretaries of the All-India Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, held in Benares in 1905. He was for a long time a joint secretary of the Central Hindu College and was connected with the different academic and administrative bodies of the Benares Hindu University. He was an active member of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha and the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal. For some years he was also an honorary magistrate.

The world of numismatics has undoubtedly lost a great scholar in Babu Durga Prasad and it will not be easy to fill up the gap created by his sudden death. We pray eternal peace and rest to the soul of the departed.

EDITORIAL.

We have great pleasure to announce that the Numismatic Society of India has decided at its annual meeting held in last December at Lahore to issue its Journal in two parts ; the first part will be henceforth published in June and the second part in December. The second part will also include an account of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Society, which is usually held some time in December.

This new arrangement was decided to be made for the purpose of encouraging numismatic studies and increasing the interest of the members and other persons in the results of the numismatic discoveries and researches. Owing to various circumstances it was not possible to bring out the Numismatic Supplements regularly. When it was decided to start an independent journal two years ago, it was contemplated to bring out only one number in the year. Experience has however shown that scholars and research workers do not naturally welcome the prospect of getting their important researches published after the lapse of about a year ; they naturally like to bring out their results as early as possible. The present arrangement will undoubtedly facilitate quicker publication of papers and it is to be hoped that the contributors will find that their articles are being published within a reasonable time. Members of the society also will be kept in closer touch with its activities as they will be receiving its journal twice a year.

Articles intended to be published in the June number should be sent to the editor concerned before the middle of March and those for the December number before the middle of September. They should be concise and to the point.

Now that it has been decided to bring out the Journal of the Numismatic Society regularly and in two parts in the year, it is to be hoped that all scholars interested in Indian numismatics will make it a point to send their articles connected with the subject only to the Journal of the Numismatic Society. If they kindly accept this suggestion, it will not be necessary for the student of Indian numismatics to refer to the pages of numerous and often not easily obtainable journals for the purpose of keeping himself in touch with the latest researches on the subject. The subscription of the membership of the society is also very low, (Rs. six per annum) ; is it thus within the easy reach of every scholar and institution. We would urgently request all scholars and institutions to help the Society in making its Journal the recognised forum for the discussion and publication of numismatic subjects by contributing their articles to its Journal and enrolling themselves as members of the Society.

ERRATA FOR VOL. II OF THE JOURNAL.

In the editorial note about the silver coins of the Kushānas published on p. 113 of Vol. II of the Journal, there is a mistake in the description of the silver coin of Wima Kadphises, published by Gardner in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, Pl. XXV, No. 11., Its correct description is as follows :—

On the obverse there is the standing king offering oblations at the altar and on the reverse there is Śiva standing by the side of his bull. Its weight is 56.5 grains.

In the editorial notes as published in the last number a line of the description of the silver coin of Huvishka was wrongly transferred to that of Wima Kadphises.

x x x x

P. 15, l. 3. Read 1912 for 1922.

COIN DEVICES ON RAJGHAT SEALS.

(BY KRISHNA DEVA, M. A.)

The recent excavations at Rajghat on the outskirts of the city of Benares have yielded a surprisingly rich and varied store of material, which throws a flood of light on the cultural and political history of ancient Benares from the Śunga to the Gāhaḍavāla times. The smaller finds consist of several thousands of terracotta human and animal figurines, upwards of 300 seals and tokens and numerous earthenware pots, besides some coins, beads, ornaments and other objects of domestic use made of pottery, stone, metal, shell, ivory, glass, etc. We shall here concern ourselves with an interesting group of seals and tokens, of burnt or unburnt clay, which bear some of the familiar devices and symbols occurring on the coins.

The most remarkable series in this group consists of tokens of terracotta, impressed with the well-known obverse designs of the Imperial Gupta coins. Thus the token figured in Pl. V, No. 1 is similar to the obverse of the Lyrist type¹ of Samudragupta, though not exactly identical with it. Like the coins, the token shows a profile view of the person's head, bedecked with a cap, and three-quarter view of his undraped upper body; he is represented as seated to left, gracefully playing on a bow-shaped lute or lyre which rests on his knees, reminding one of the tribute paid to his musical accomplishments, *niśita-vidagdhā-matī-gāndharvā-lalitair = vṛḍita-tridaśa-patiguru-Tumburu-Nārada-deh*.² But unlike the coins, he is seated in the *bhadrāsana* posture without crossing the legs on what looks like a low stool with no indications of the high back. The token has in front of the king an additional device of perhaps an elephant striding to left.

The next token (Pl. V, 2) illustrates the Lakshmī reverse of the Archer type, which is first struck by Chandragupta II and continued by all the succeeding Gupta kings except Prakāśāditya. This resembles the coins³ of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I in representing Lakshmī as seated, facing on lotus seat, holding fillet in her outstretched right hand and lotus with short stalk in the left. On the right margin there are faint traces of letters which on the original can be made out as *ma* and *ha*, probably intended for *Mahendra*. Thus it is

1. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Gupta Dynasties*, Pl. V, 1-7.

2. C.I.I., Vol. III, No. 1, l. 27.

3. Allan, Pl. VI, 13-18; Pl. XII, 8-12,

attributable to Kumāragupta I with whose coins the lettering on the token as well as the design agrees.⁴ The token bears three more impressions, besides the one just noticed. Its reverse has a defaced impression of a circular seal showing bull. On its obverse, the upper portion of the Lakshmi device has been counterstruck by two partial impressions from another seal, forming a sort of decorative canopy over Lakshmi's head and depicting two human figures (Pl. V, 3) which recall to our mind the familiar type of 'King attended by dwarf carrying umbrella' of Chandragupta II's copper currency.⁵

From Rajghat also come tokens bearing the obverse and reverse designs of the Lion-slayer type which was struck by Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Pl. V, 4 shows king standing in *pratyāliḍhāsana* with his face gracefully turned back to right, shooting with bow at a lion which falls backward, and possibly trampling on it with his left foot. This seems to agree more closely with Chandragupta's coin-type⁶ than with that of his son Kumāragupta,⁷ though we cannot be definite about it because of the indifferent preservation of the design. But we can undoubtedly put down the token figured in Pl. V, 5 as representing the reverse device of Kumāragupta I's Lion-slayer type. In this the goddess appears seated, facing, in a pose which may be called half-way between *lalita* and *ardha-paryāṅka*, on lion which is couchant to right, holding fillet and lotus, treated like a cornucopiae, in her right and left hands respectively. Traces of the legend [*Śrī-Ma*]hendru[*siṅha*] are visible on the right margin and of monogram on left. This comparés well with Allan, Pl. XIV, 1-5.

So much about the tokens stamped with the gold coin-types of the Imperial Guptas. Now, among the specimens bearing the designs of their copper and silver currencies, two are seen to imitate the crude bust and half-length or three-quarter length portrait on the obverse of Chandragupta II's copper coins. One of these (Pl. V, 6) shows the king standing left, three-quarter length, with left hand in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose and right hand outstretched, possibly in the act of casting incense on altar⁸. Above the head of the king is a circular object which may be umbrella or nimbus. One of the impressions on the other token (Pl. V, 7) represents a crude bust facing right and agrees with Allan, Pl. XI, 12-19, in everything except the direction of the face. On either side of this impression is stamped on the same token the fantail

4. Cf. Allan, Pl. XII, 7 and 11.

5. Allan, Pl. XI, 4.

6. Allan, Pl. VIII, 11.

7. Allan, Pl. XIV, 4.

8. Allan, Pl. XI, 8.

peacock device, started by Kumāragupta I and continued by his successors Skandagupta and Budhagupta on their Central Indian silver coinage. This (Pl. V, 8) shows peacock standing facing with wings and tail outspread in a dancing attitude. It closely conforms to the coin-type⁹ with this difference that it shows the peacock's head inclined towards right while the coins invariably show its head turned to left. Further it is interesting to note that below each wing of the peacock on the token occurs a letter in the early Gupta script, *sta* being on the left and *ra* on the right. One is tempted to read it as *Ška* and *nda*, but a careful examination shows the reading to be different.

The next device which is common to the Gupta coins and some of the Rajghat seals is that of altar which appears as one of the types on Skandagupta's silver currency current in western provinces.¹⁰ The token (Pl. V, 9) bears three impressions from the same seal in the upper field and the legend *Bhaskulu* in the Gupta script in the lower. This design also occurs on the seals found at Sunet and excavated from the Gupta stratum at Bhitā and Basārḥ¹¹. Lastly, we may notice the representation of Garuḍa on a seal from Rajghat (Pl. V, 10) which has some resemblance with the Garuḍa device occurring on the copper issues of Chandragupta II.¹²

Thus we have found representations of the coin types of all the Gupta emperors from Samudragupta to Skandagupta, the majority belonging to Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. The question naturally arises as to what is the significance of the occurrence at Rajghat of such a large number of Gupta coin-devices. The similarity of the designs on the tokens with those on the coins already discussed above and the absence of personal name on all of them except No. 3 shows that they are not attributable to individuals, as it is extremely unlikely that the administration in the Gupta period, to which these belong, would have allowed individuals to use with impunity the emblems and devices employed for the state coinage. The complete identity of Nos. 1, 4 and 5 with the Gupta coin types in the minutest details of size, shape, arrangement and execution leaves no doubt as to their being pressed out of coin moulds which presupposes the existence of a Gupta mint at Benares. This is strikingly confirmed by the discovery at Rajghat of an actual coin mould¹³ of the Lakshmi reverse of Chandragupta II's Archer

9. Allan, Pls. XVIII, 1-15; XXI, 13-22; XXIV, 13-14.

10. Allan, Pls. XX, 13-29; XXI, 1-12.

11. J. R. A. S., 1901, plate facing p. 28, fig. 13; A. S. I., A. R., 1903-04, Pl. XL, 9; 1911-12, Pl. XXI, 98-101.

12. Allan Pl. XI, 4-12.

13. This is being published in Prof. Birbal Sahni's forthcoming monograph on Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India.

type which is now in the collection of Rai Bahadur Brajmohan Vyas of Allahabad. It shows Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in her right hand and a lotus with long stalk in left hand which rests on her hip; the legend *Śrī-Vikramah* and the monogram appear in their usual position. As regards the use of these objects it is clear from the absence of any grooves or impressions of string or tape which usually mark the reverse of the sealings that the specimens Nos. 1-9 are tokens. They are nicely executed pieces of well-burnt clay and are nearly all painted with red slip. These appear to have been used as marks of official authentication, passports or identity cards. No. 10 is a clay sealing which must have been attached to the packing of a letter or despatch from which it was torn or cut apart in the process of unpacking.

The next group of interesting finds from Rajghat which we shall notice below contains representations of classical themes consisting of Greek gods and goddesses and royal heads and busts in imitation of the Greek, Roman and Indo-Bactrian coin types. Pl. V, 11 shows a young royal bust to right wearing fillet with its ends hanging down behind the head. This elegantly executed bust has definitely classical features; its size also is approximately equal to that of the royal busts or the Indo-Bactrian hemidrachms. The sealing illustrated in Pl. V, 12 shows a figure of Heracles, striding to left, with his face gracefully turned back to right, carrying club in his right hand and lion's skin in his left. This figure, emulating the Praxitelean tradition in excellence of modelling and exquisite workmanship, bears resemblance to the representation of Heracles on the joint issues of Hermeus and Kadphises I and on those of Kadphises I, which however are much cruder. Another variety of this sealing from Rajghat shows the head of Heracles to left. The next sealing (Pl. V, 13) contains a figure of winged Nike, standing to right, holding wreath with fillets in her outstretched hands. But for some projected object on either side of her waist and the absence of palm leaf, this scrupulously resembles the figures of Nike on some Indo-Bactrian coins.¹⁶ This device and that of Pallas to be discussed next are also favourites of the Greek and Roman currencies. Pl. V, 14 represents helmeted Pallas standing facing left, carrying spear in her uplifted right hand and shield on her back. This bears a partial affinity to the figure of Pallas on the Indo-Bactrian coins.¹⁷ The sealing reproduced on Pl. V, 15 shows a figure of Apollo standing to

14. Gardner, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, Pls. V, 10; XI, 10.

15. *Ibid.* Pl. XXV, 1-4.

16. *Ibid.* Pls. VII, 7; XI, 4-5 and 18.

17. *Ibid.* Pls. XIV, 11; XXI, 9.

right, carrying bow in his left hand, his right hand being uplifted to his face. This may be compared with the representations of Apollo on some of the Indo-Bactrian coins.¹⁸

Lastly we come to several heads from Rajghat which, though not exactly identical, show unmistakable kinship with the heads on the Roman coins. The modelling of the head, the proportion of the parts, the delineation of the nose, eyes and the chin and the treatment of hair betray classical features which are peculiar to the secular and divine heads occurring on the Greek and Roman gems and coins. Pl. V, 16 reproduces a sealing showing a bearded head to right with a smiling expression on lips and traces of fillet behind the neck. The specimens illustrated on Pl. V, 17-19 are thin flat discs of black pottery showing the classical heads in prominent relief. Each of these is pierced with two holes for suspension and might have been carried as a locket or pendant or an object of beauty. Unlike these, specimens nos. 10-16 are sealings of clay as is clear from their reverse which invariably shows marks of string or tape and a hole which in some cases still preserves the fibre with which the document or the object to be sealed was packed.

These finds betoken brisk commercial and cultural intercourse between India and the western world and reveal the importance of Benares as an international centre of trade and commerce on the one hand and culture and art on the other. So far the evidence regarding India's intercourse with the West was mainly based on the literary notices of the classical authors.¹⁹ That evidence is now remarkably confirmed and supplemented by the archaeological data from Rajghat, belonging to the Kushan and Gupta times.

18. *Ibid.* Pl. IX, 10-12. Cf. *Punjab Museum Coin Catalogue*, Vol I, Pls. IV, 307; V, 322-344.

19. McCrindle, *Ancient India in Classical Literature*, pp. 212-214.

SOME NOTES ON NEW PAÑCHĀLA COINS.

BY VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA, M.A., PH.D.

Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

A NEW PANCHĀLA COIN OF PRAJĀPATIMITRA.

Allan considers the coins of the Pañchāla Kings to form one of the longest and most uniform series of ancient Indian coins. His list consists of 13 names of rulers which as arranged by him in a chronological order on palæographical grounds consists of the following names ;

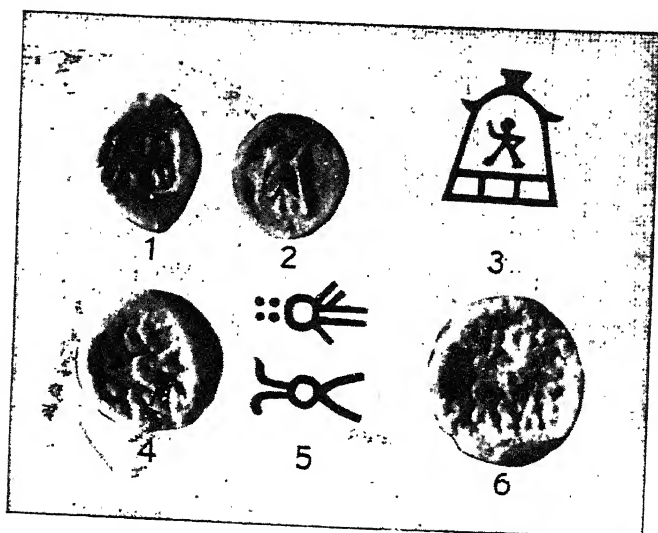
1. Viśvapāla
2. Rudragupta
3. Sūryamitra
4. Phālgunimitra
5. Bhānumitra
6. Bhadrachosha
7. Bhūmimitra
8. Dhruvamitra
9. Agnimitra
10. Viśvamitra
11. Jayagupta
12. Jayamitra
13. Indramitra

Cunningham's list published in his *Coins of Ancient India* includes 12 names only, that of Jayagupta being then unknown. Smith in the *I. M. C.* gave only the names of seven kings without mentioning any novel features.

Recently Mr. M. B. L. Dar published a new Pañchāla coin of Vasusena and another of Tagapala counterstruck on the reverse by a ruler named Damagupta. (*Ante*, Vol. II. p. 115). The coin of Vasusena bears on the reverse the figure of 'a spirited horse with bent neck and upturned tail.'

It seems that the above list still has some gaps which must be filled in.¹ In the collection of Pañchāla Coins of the Lucknow Museum there are two coins on which the king's name can be read with absolute certainty as Prajāpatimitra. As the coins are similar, I describe and illustrate one of them here.

1 I am indebted to R. B. K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Director General of Archæology in India, for the information that in the recent excavations at Ahichchhatrā coins of a new Pañchāla king named Varupamitra have been found. He has also corrected the reading Tagapala into Va(n)gapāla, whom he identifies with the grandfather of Āshādhasena of Ahichchhatrā referred to in the Pabhosā cave inscription.



Weight, 28 grs.

Size, .4"

Metal, Copper

Obv. The name of the king is written in two lines. The first line shows Pañchāla symbol No. 1, an enclosure with shaft having a double parasol; then there are the first three letters *Prajāpa* of the king's name. In the second line there are the concluding letters *timitrasa*. The other two symbols of the Pañchāla group are omitted on the coin probably owing to the king's name occupying two lines, which is a new feature on Pañchāla series.

Rev. A standing figure on Buddhist railing underneath a domed arch which is surmounted at the top by a finial. The dome of the roofing is in the nature of an ogee arch, the concave bends appearing at the two curvilinear ends of the arch. The structure appears to be a temple. In the field on left is the third Pañchāla symbol; see Figs. 1 and 2 above.

Cunningham noticed a structure like this on a coin of Indramitra (*C. A. I.*, Pl. VII, fig. 20). Allan also noticed the deity in the arch-way on the coins of Jayagupta and Indramitra (Allan, *C. A. I.*, pages 202 and 204; Pl. XXVIII, fig. 19). Some of the Lucknow Museum specimens of Jayagupta and Indramitra show the temple in very clear outlines, from which the arched roof appears to resemble an ogee arch seen in Bharhut and early Mathurā sculptures; see Fig. 3 above. Our

collection has a coin of Viśvāmitra also on which for the first time the deity appears under an arched temple. On the top of the arch can be seen a protuberance which I would call an *āmalakī*, an architectural design referred to by Patañjali (*Bhāṣhya*, Kielhorn, vol. III. p 132). The form of the temple here described can be seen clearly in Allan's Catalogue, Pl. XXVIII fig. 19.

From the type on the reverse, we may reasonably conclude that the correct chronological position of Prajāpatimitra should be somewhere near Jayagupta and Indramitra.

The left hand of the deity is akimbo and the right is out-stretched holding some indistinct object. The figure which is similar to that of Indra on the coins of Indramitra, must be taken to represent Prajāpati on the analogy of other Pañchāla coins, which show on the reverse the deity connected with the name of the ruler.

NEW TYPES OF INDRAMITRA AND JAYAMITRA

The Lucknow Museum also has the following coin type of Indramitra not found in the British Museum Catalogue.

Weight: 31 gr.

Metal: copper

Size: .45"

Obv: Two symbols in horizontal position, one above the other. Legend *Indramitra* below; Fig. 4.

Rev: A very crude figure drawn in outlines, which should be that of Indra.

The special feature of the coin is the absence of the usual group of three symbols. Of the two horizontal symbols the lower one, is the Pañchāla symbol No. 3; the upper symbol consists of five radiate lines connected to a circle behind which are four dots. The drawing of both these symbols is given in Fig. 5 (p. 80) in their relative position. This group of symbols is found on one coin of Agnimitra also in the Lucknow Museum; see Fig. 6 (p. 80).

The coins of Jayamitra also present a noticeable feature. The reverse of Jayamitra's coins shows a male deity on a platform between two pillars. The right pillar is crowned by a spear head, and the left by a shaft crowned by triple parasols (*tri-chhatra-yashṭi*) and not two cross-bars as previously suggested.

IDENTITY OF GODDESS BHADRĀ

The coins of Bhadrāghosha show a female deity standing on a lotus. Allan rightly identified this as Bhadrā in allusion

to the name of Bhadrāghosha, adding: "but which of the goddesses who bear this epithet it is difficult to say." (Allan, *ibid*, cxviii). Fortunately the *Mahābhārata* throws light on this point. Bhadrā is stated there to be the spouse of Vaiśravaṇa :—

यथा वैश्रवणे भद्रा वसिष्ठे चाप्यरुन्धती ।

यथा नारायणे लक्ष्मीस्तथा त्वं भव भर्तृषु ॥ I 201.6

Bhadrā is very often seen in early Kushāṇa sculptures from Mathurā seated by the side of Kubera. She is represented just like Lakshmī with a lotus in her hand and sometimes even with a pair of elephants by her side. According to Allan also the type of Bhadrā on the coins of Bhadrāghosha suggests Lakshmī (*ibid*, p. cxviii).

SOME NEW VARIETIES OF GUPTA COINAGE

By J. K. AGARWAL, CANNING COLLEGE, LUCKNOW.

(1)

A NEW VARIETY OF SAMUDRAGUPTA'S COIN, ARCHER TYPE



Metal, Gold

Weight, 121 Grs.

Size. .82"

(Obtained from Cawnpore).

Obverse :—King standing to left ; wearing coat and trousers, ear-rings and necklace ; holding bow in left hand and arrow in the right ; the head of arrow rests on the ground ; Garuḍa standard on left ; *crescent over the head of the king* ; beneath king's arm *Samudra* ; and a circular legend on margin of which last two letters only *yata* are preserved. Most probably it was '*Apratiratho vijitya kshitim sucharitair divam jayati*'. See Fig. 1 above.

Reverse :—Goddess (Lakshmī) seated facing on a *simhāsana* wearing loose robe, holding fillet in out-stretched right hand and cornucopiae in left. A monogram on left. Legend *Apratirathah*.

A Crescent just over the 'Head of King' has not been noticed so far on any Gupta coin.

The Crescent on the Standard Type of Samudragupta's coins is over the Garuḍa Standard as on Pl. I, Coins 1-4 in the *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* by Mr. J. Allan.

On the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coins, the Crescent is placed above the intervening space between the head of the king and that of the queen as can be seen on Pl. III of Allan's *Catalogue*, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 12.

In Samudragupta's Archer Type coins as illustrated in Allan's *Catalogue*, Pl. IV, Nos. 5 and 6, the position of the Crescent is just over the head of the Garuḍa, but more slanting towards the left.

In the coins of the Archer Type of Chandragupta II, as illustrated in Pl. VII, Nos. 12, 13 and 14, the position of the Crescent is also over the Garuḍa Standard (slanting and pointing to left).

The Crescent can also be observed on some of the Horseman Type of coins of Chandragupta II on the back portion of the king's head, i. e., on the left side (Allan's *Catalogue*, Pl. X, Nos. 4, 5, 11 and 12). It is particularly interesting to note that on Chandragupta's Horseman Type of coins, the Crescent is to be noticed only on those coins in which the Horseman faces to right.

After Chandragupta II, the Crescent disappears altogether from the Gupta gold coins.

Mr. Allan observes "As on the Kushan coins, the king's head is surrounded by a halo, to the left of which, on the specimens which approach most closely to the Kushan original, is a crescent (e. g. Pl. I, 1-4). The presence of this crescent is difficult to explain, but it is most probably to be traced to an O in the original Greek legend, which, on such coins as *N. C.*, 1893 Pl. VIII. 9, had degenerated into a crescent." (*Catalogue*. p. lxx).

It may be observed that the Crescent is depicted not only on such coins as approach most closely to the Kushana original, but on good many coins displaying considerable originality of type, such as Chandragupta II's Archer Type (Allan's *Catalogue*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 12, 13 and 14) and Horseman Type (Allan's Pl. X, Nos. 4, 5, 11 and 12). Whatever the true significance of the Crescent may be, it is certain that it is an ancient Indian symbol originally appearing on the indigenous punch-marked coins in such combinations as 'Crescent on Hill', 'Crescent enclosing Hare', and sometimes also as an independent symbol. There is no question therefore of its descent from the Greek O. Its recurrence on the Gupta coins is purely a matter of sequence.

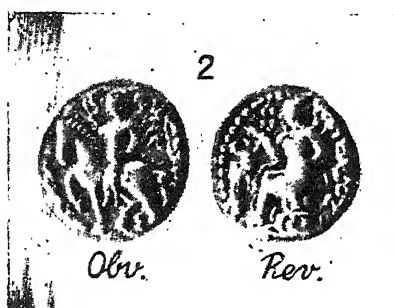
[The argument advanced to disprove the view that the crescent is most probably to be traced to an O in the original

Greek legend, is weak. The crescent may be an Indian symbol, and yet its appearance *here* may be due to the original presence of the Greek legend. On the obverse of Gupta silver coins, we usually have several crescents and circles; (Allan, Pls. XVI and XVII); can any one doubt that they are the traces of the original Greek legend? On gold coins, only one crescent is to be seen near the head of the king, because the rest of the space was occupied by the circular Brāhmī legend.

Editor, A. S. A.]

(2)

A RARE COIN OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I, HORSEMAN TYPE.



Metal, Gold.

Size, 8".

Weight, 128 Grs.

(Obtained from Benares).

Obverse. King riding on a fully caparisoned horse to left; holding bow in right hand; sword visible on left side.

Legend is undecipherable; only portions of it are visible. The original was probably as follows:—

"*Guptakulāmalachandro mahendra-karmājito jayati.*"¹ Fig. 2, *obv.*

Reverse. Goddess (Lakshmi) nimbate; seated on wicker stool facing to left; holding lotus with long stalk in left hand behind; pointing one of the fingers of her upraised right hand towards a peacock perched close to her, with tail dropping down. The goddess is also wearing some ornament in her right hand, the two ends of the string which tie the ornament round her wrist are hanging down; border of dots; on left is a new monogram.

Legend: *Ajitamahendraḥ.* Fig. 2, *rev.*

On the basis of the legend, the coin seems to agree with

¹ Allan *Catalogue* Pl. VIII No. 16

Class II. *Var.* B of Allan, under the Horseman Type of Kumāragupta I.

The novelty of the coin consists in the figure of the peacock which instead of being shown in a dancing posture with tail raised above, is perched in a vertical position with its tail coming downwards and the head and the beak towards the out-stretched right hand of the goddess.

So far as I know, no coin of Kumāragupta I with a peacock of similar design has been published before.

The goddess is clearly pointing the index finger of her right hand towards the bird; but the absence of any bunch of fruits or similar other article precludes the supposition that she is actually feeding it.

WAS BERAR THE HOME PROVINCE OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS?

BY DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M. A., PH. D.,

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I have read with great interest Prof. V. V. Mirashi's learned reply to my comments on his theory that the original home of the Śātavāhanas was in Vidarbha. It is however a matter of regret that answers to none of the actual questions involved can be discovered in the Professor's reply. Plainly speaking the questions are :—

(1) Does the discovery of some coins of the later members of a dynasty in a particular area prove that that region was the original home province of the dynasty? If the discovery of large numbers of Roman coins in South India does not prove that the home of the Roman emperors was in the Deccan, if the find of no less than 1100 coins of Kumāragupta I in Satara does not prove that the home province of the Guptas was in the Satara District, why should the Tarhālā hoard prove that the original home of the Śātavāhanas was in Berar? Later Śātavāhana coins have been discovered in other parts of the Deccan; why should then Berar be preferred to the other localities? If Prof. Mirashi admits that Pulumāvi transferred the capital to Paiṭhān, does not his theory stand on the coins of Gautamīputra alone?

(2) Numerous literary traditions, both Brahmanical and Jain, prove that the Śātavāhana capital was at Pratishthāna, modern Paiṭhān; Ptolemy, also mentions Baithāna = Pratishthāna as the capital of Siripolemaios = Śrī-Pulumāvi; Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana, father of Śakti Kumāra and lord of Pratishthānanagarī, is famous in Indian literature; this king has been identified with the husband of Nāganikā and the father of Satisiri or Hakisiri = Śaktiśrī (for references see my previous note; also H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 345-47)¹; if Pra-

1. The Nānāghāt inscriptions refer to a prince called Śātavāhana. This fact suggests that the name of the dynasty was derived from an earlier king (possibly the founder) named Śātavāhana. See my *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation* (in the press), p. 185, n 4. The Purāṇas appear to have begun their list with Śimuka because he became a paramount ruler after defeating the Kāṇvas and the Śuṅgas who may have been stationed then in Central India. If such a view be accepted, the tradition recorded in works like the *Dvātrimśatputtalikā* regarding the birth of Śālivāhana (=Śātavāhana) from a Brāhmana's daughter at Pratishthāna may indicate the original home of the dynasty in the same region.

tiṣṭhāna is thus said to have been the capital of at least the 3rd and the 24th kings of the dynasty, why should we prefer Berar, the case of which is utterly unsupported except by the Professor's conjecture ?

(3) The Hāthigumphā inscription does not place the Kṛishṇavenā in the Śātavāhana kingdom ; it simply says that Śātakarni's country lay to the west of Khāravela's kingdom ; this description suits the district round Pratiṣṭhāna better than, or at least, as well as, Vidarbha ; why should we then prefer the unsupported case of Vidarbha to the traditionally supported case of Pratiṣṭhāna ? Why should a persistent tradition be ignored and a conjecture be favoured ?

(4) Why of all Śātavāhana inscriptions only two refer to the kings as lords of particular places ?² If the reason is not that the kings in the two cases (at the time of issuing the charters) were outside their capital where they usually stayed, what other reason can be suggested ? In only one of his inscriptions Gautamīputra Śātakarni is called "lord of Benākataka" and Puṣumāvi in only one of his "lord of Navanara"; even though we agree to think that one of these two places was the home province of the Śātavāhanas, why should Benākataka be preferred to Navanara ? If it be conjectured that Benākataka and Navanara were respectively the capitals of Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi, how does Vidarbha become the home province of the Śātavāhanas in view of the fact that Pratiṣṭhāna is connected with a Śātavāhana king earlier than Gautamīputra ? If the capitals are actually mentioned in these two cases, why the capital is not referred to in any other record of the Śātavāhana kings ?

In this connection it should be pointed out that my remark regarding the bad condition of the plate was a mere statement of fact. I did not suggest that Prof. Mirashi is responsible for it or that his readings are all wrong.

PROF. MIRASHI'S REJOINDER.

In the last number of this Journal I replied point by point to the criticism of Dr. Sircar. It is my misfortune that he does not see in my article answers to any questions raised by him.

I have not stated that the find of Śātavāhana coins in Berar decides the question of the home of the Śātavāhanas. What I have said is that the find has again brought the question to the fore-front. Frankly speaking, we have yet no indisputable

2. Elsewhere I have interpreted *Benākatakasvāmī* as *Benākataka-sthita-svāmī*.

evidence on the point. The Purāṇas call these kings Āndhras. Their earliest records and reliefs are found in the Poonā and Nāsik Districts in Western Mahārāshṭra. A later inscription names the territory now comprised in the Bellary District as Sātavāhanihāra. Literary traditions say that Sātavāhana was ruling at Pratiśṭhāna, but these traditions are late, fantastic and conflicting. Since Dr. Sircar pins his faith on these traditions, let us examine them in some detail.

Most of these traditions refer to a Sātavāhana king ruling at Pratiśṭhāna. Sātavāhana was, however, a dynastic name. As it is admitted that Pratiśṭhāna was the capital of Puṣumāvi and probably also of his successors, these traditions have no bearing on the question of the home of the dynasty unless it is definitely proved that the Sātavāhana mentioned in them as ruling at Pratiśṭhāna was an early member of the dynasty. The only reference of this kind occurs in the *Kalpaprādīpa* of the Jain author Jinaprabhasūri who flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century A.D., i.e., more than fifteen hundred years after the founder of the dynasty.¹ This work,² after giving some fantastic stories about Sātavāhana of Pratiśṭhāna, remarks:—

ततः शक्तिकुमारो राज्येभिषिक्तः सातवाहनायनिः ॥ तदनन्तरं अद्यापि राजा न कश्चित् प्रतिष्ठाने प्रविशति वीरक्षेत्रे इति ।

Dr. Bühler³ first suggested that this Śāktikumāra might be identical with Śāktisrī (or Hakuśrī), the son of Sātakarṇi, mentioned in the inscriptions at Nanāghāt and Nāsik. It may however be noted that according to the tradition recorded by Jinaprabha, Śāktikumāra was the last king of Pratiśṭhāna; for it says, 'After him there has been no king at Pratiśṭhāna the city of heroes.' This Śāktikumāra cannot therefore be identified with such an early Sātavāhana prince as Śāktisrī, the son of Sātakarṇi I.⁴

The *Kathāsarisāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* give a story about Guṇāḍhya's patron, King Sātavāhana of Pratiśṭhāna who was ignorant of Sanskrit. These works also are very late, being composed in the 11th century A. D. We are not sure that the story formed part of the original *Bṛhatkathā*, for it does not find a place in the *Ślokaśaṅgraha* of Budhasvāmin which is an earlier abridgment of Guṇāḍhya's work.⁵ Besides,

1. 'The *Kalpaprādīpa* was written between A. D. 1326 and 1331.' Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 321.

2. *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 134.

3. *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 62, n. 1.

4. Besides, according to the, Nanāghāt inscription, Śāktisrī did not immediately succeed (Śimuka) Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty. He was preceded by his father Sātakarṇi.

5. In the *Nepālamāhātmya* Guṇāḍhya's patron is said to have been a king of Ujjaini.

the story, even if authentic, may not refer to an early member of the dynasty. In this connection attention may be drawn to the following remarks of Prof. Keith⁶: 'Sātavāhana is a dynastic name which may denote any of the several kings, and the fact that the *Kātantra* grammar with Śarvavarman is introduced would suggest rather a later than an earlier date, for what evidence there is suggests that the Sātavāhanas were great patrons of Prākṛit literature, and can only gradually have come round to the necessity of accepting Sanskrit as the language of the Court.'

Another reference to the connection of Sātavāhana with Pratiśṭhāna is that discovered by the late Dr. Jayaswal⁷ in the *Niryukti* to the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*. An old *gāthā* cited in the *Niryukti* refers to Śālavāhaṇa (of) Paṭhāṇa and Nahavāṇa. According to Dr. Jayaswal's interpretation, this Nahavāṇa was the Śaka satrap Nahapāna. Consequently Śālavāhaṇa who was his antagonist must have been Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It may be noted in this connection that the *Niryukti* from which the *gāthā* is cited is unanimously ascribed by tradition to Bhadrabāhu who was a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya. The *gāthā* however is supposed to refer to an incident which took place some centuries later! The story has, in any case, no bearing on the present controversy, for even if true, it only establishes the connection of Pratiśṭhāna with Gautamīputra and says nothing about the capital of the earlier members of the family. As against it we have the evidence of Benākāṭaka in Vidarbha being the capital of Gautamīputra as shown in my last article.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that like so many other *persistent* traditions in our literature, this tradition also cannot be accepted as absolutely trustworthy unless it is corroborated by independent evidence. We have therefore to settle this question of the home of the Sātavāhanas, taking the whole evidence into consideration. In my article on the Tarhālā hoard I have already stated that the capital of the Sātavāhanas in the time of Puṣumāvi was Pratiśṭhāna, for we have the contemporary evidence of Ptolemy on the point. But we have no such early evidence for the same place being the capital even in the time of the earlier kings. Whatever may have been the capital in the time of very early members of the family, I have no doubt, in view of the recent discovery of Benākāṭa in the east of Vidarbha, that at least

6. Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 90. Lacote also remarks, 'In the present state of complete entanglement of the legends, it is difficult to say to which Sātavāhana was attributed first the confusion of the expression *modaka*. See his *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Brīhatkathā* (Eng. Tr.), p. 27.

7. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 290 ff.

the immediate ancestors of Gautamīputra had their capital in Vidarbha after they were ousted by the Kshaharātas from Western Mahārāshtra.

That other Sātavāhana inscriptions do not refer to the early kings as lords of Benākataka is a negative argument from which we cannot draw any conclusion. These inscriptions do not in any case mention any other place as the capital of these kings. The reason why Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi called themselves lords of Benākataka and Navana[ga]ra in their records has already been stated in my last reply⁸ and need not be repeated here.

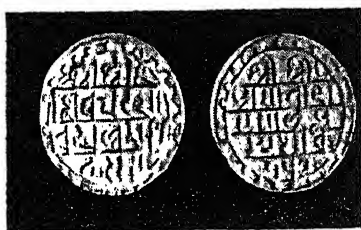
8. *Anta*, Vol. III, p. 66.

A GOLD COIN OF PRĀṆANĀRAYAṆA

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., NAGPUR.

I came to know of the existence of this coin from a short note on the treasure trove finds in U. P. published in this Journal, Vol. II, p. 149. As I was then studying the gold coins of Vatsadāman which have a legend ending in *nārāyaṇa* (viz., *Vatsadāma-nārāyaṇa*) and which, on palæographic evidence, have been referred to 'about the eighth century A.D.', I became interested in this coin also; for it resembled the coins of Vatsadāman in certain respects. Firstly, it was issued by a king whose name also ended in *nārāyaṇa* and secondly, it belonged to about the same period as it was supposed to bear the date Śaka samvat 757.¹ Through the good offices of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, I obtained excellent plaster casts of the two sides of the coin from Mr. V. S. Agrawala, M. A., Curator of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, who also obliged me by furnishing me with information about its provenance and weight. I publish the coin here as desired by Mr. Agrawala.

This coin comes from a hoard which was found in the village Bhatipurā, Tahsil Mahobā, District Hamirpur, in the United Provinces. The same hoard contained, besides the present coin, 3 gold coins of Aurangzeb and 108 silver coins of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.



Rev.

Obv.

The present coin is of gold and round in shape, with a diameter of '9". It weighs 106 grains. It has on the reverse, inside a circle of dots enclosed between two lines, the following legend in four lines:—(1) *Śrī-Śrī*-(2) *Siva-charaṇa*-(3) *kamala-madhu*-(4) *karasya*. On the obverse side it has, inside a similar border, the legend in five lines, viz., (1) *Śrī-Śrī*-(2) *Prāṇanārā*-(3) *yaṇa-bhūpa*-(4) *syā Sāke* (5) 753. The two legends are plainly connected in sense. They mean '(This coin is) of the illustrious

1. *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 149.

king Prāṇanārāyaṇa who is a bee on the lotuses of the feet of the divine Siva, (*dated*) in the Śaka year 753.'

The characters of the legend which are of the late Nāgarī alphabet clearly indicate that this date, though introduced with the word *Śāke* cannot be referred to the Śaka era. Besides, its association with the Mughal coins in the hoard in which it was discovered shows that Prāṇanārāyaṇa, who issued it, probably flourished not earlier than the 16th or the 17th century A. D. The only Prāṇanārāyaṇa who is known to history as having flourished in this period is the homonymous king of Kuch Bihar. From Kuch Bihar chronicles and coins we get the following list of the rulers of that country—

Viśvasimha (A. D. 1515-1540)²

|

Naranārāyaṇa (A. D. 1540-1584)

|

Lakshmīnārāyaṇa (A. D. 1584-1622)

|

Vīranārāyaṇa (A. D. 1622-1627)

|

Prāṇanārāyaṇa (A. D. 1627-1666)

The earliest coins of this dynasty are those of Naranārāyaṇa.³ They are all of silver. They closely resemble the present coin in shape and legend. On the obverse they have the legend containing the name of the king and the date in the Śaka era (e.g., *Śrī-śrīman-Naranārāyaṇa-bhūpālasya Śāke 1477*) and on the reverse the same expression as on the present coin stating the king's devotion to Śiva (viz. *Śrī-śrī-Śiva-charaṇa kamala-madhukarasya*). Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, the son of Naranārāyaṇa, struck similar silver coins in his own name.⁴ They weigh about 151 grains. Some of them are dated Śaka 1509 (A. D. 1587-88). No coins of Vīranārāyaṇa are known, but several coins of his son and successor Prāṇanārāyaṇa of the same type and fabric as the present gold coin have been discovered. Their weight, however, decreased gradually from 148 to 142 grains. Two of them bear the date Śaka 1555 (A. D. 1633-34). Prāṇanārāyaṇa minted half silver coins⁵ also, but so far as I know this is the first gold coin of his that is coming to light. It weighs 106 grains, i. e., about 40 grains less than his silver coins.

2. These dates are approximate. According to W. W. Hunter, Viśvasimha began to reign in A. D. 1524 and Naranārāyaṇa in A. D. 1555. See his *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. X, pp. 406 ff.

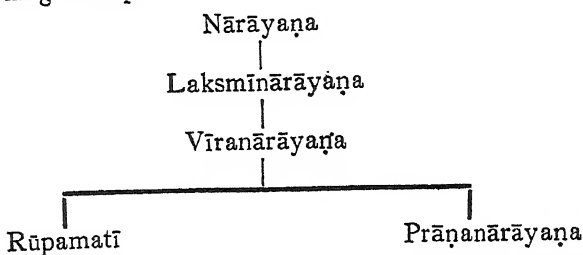
3. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV (1895), Pl. XXIV, Nos. 1 and 2.

4. *Ibid.*, (New Series), Vol. VI (1910), Pl. XXII, No. 6.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. LXIV (1895), p. 240.

It will be noticed that all these coins of Koch kings from Naranārāyaṇa to Prāṇanārāyaṇa bear dates in the Śaka era, ranging from 1477 to 1555. They are corroborated by Muslim Chroniclers who state that Lakshmīnārāyaṇa was a contemporary of Akbar⁶ and Prāṇanārāyaṇa⁷ of Aurangzeb. How is it then that the present gold coin of Prāṇanārāyaṇa bears the date Śaka 753 which is more than eight hundred years earlier than those on his silver coins? The only way to reconcile this date with the other dates of Prāṇanārāyaṇa is to refer it to the Newar or Nepalese era, the epoch of which has been determined by Kielhorn to be A. D. 878-79. The date 753 thus becomes equivalent to A. D. 1631-32 which falls in the reign of Prāṇanārāyaṇa⁸ (A. D. 1627-1666).

What was the cause of this Nepalese influence on the coinage of Prāṇanārāyaṇa? For an answer to this question we have to turn to the Kāṭmāṇḍu inscription of Pratāpa of the Malla dynasty of Nepal.⁹ According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji who has edited this inscription, it gives the following genealogy of Prāṇanārāyaṇa, who was a brother-in-law of the Nepalese king Pratāpa :--



Rūpamatī was married to the aforementioned king Pratāpa. The Kāṭmāṇḍu inscription is dated Thursday, the 6th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 769. From other inscriptions of the king it is plain that the date must be referred to the Newar era. As shown by Kielhorn,¹⁰ it regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 22nd February A.D. 1649. As

6. See *Akbarnāmā*, (Ed. by Blochmann) p. 340. Lakshmīnārāyaṇa gave his sister (according to the Koch *Vamsāvalī*, his daughter) in marriage to Rājā Mān Singh who was then the governor of Bengal. The marriage took place in the 41st year of Akbar's reign.

7. Persian historians give the name of this Koch king as Bhīm Nārāyaṇ or Pem Nārāyaṇ, but it is a mistake. The *Burangis* or chronicles of Kuch Bihar give the correct name Prāṇanārāyaṇa. When Mir Jumla invaded Kuch Bihar in 1661, Prāṇanārāyaṇa was the ruling king.

8. Sir Edward Gait places the accession of Prāṇanārāyaṇa in A.D. 1683 (*A History of Assam*, second edition, p. 865), but the present coin shows that Prāṇanārāyaṇa had come to the throne a few years earlier. The year 1627 mentioned in the Kuch Bihar chronicles as the date of his accession may be accepted as correct.

9. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 188.

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 250-51.

Prāṇanārāyaṇa was a brother-in-law of the king, the date 753 on the present coin struck by him must evidently be referred to the same era.¹¹ The year, if current, would correspond to A.D. 1631-32.

A comparison of the two genealogies of Prāṇanārāyaṇa given above,—one known from Kuch Bihar chronicles and the other from the Kātmāṇḍu inscription of Pratāpa,—will show that they agree completely except in one respect, *viz.*, the name of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa's father which is given as Nārāyaṇa by the latter. As the name Naranārāyaṇa occurs on the coins of the king,¹² it must undoubtedly have been the correct one. A careful study of verse 6 of the Kātmāṇḍu inscription will show that it also virtually gives the same name;¹³ for it mentions it as Punnārāyaṇa which in Sanskrit means the same as Naranārāyaṇa.

The Kātmāṇḍu inscription states that Punnārāyaṇa (or Naranārāyaṇa), the great-grandfather of Prāṇanārāyaṇa (and apparently his successors also) were ruling from Vihāranagarī. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji who edited the inscription took Vihāra to mean Bihar.¹⁴ So Vihāranagarī, according to him, would mean the capital of Bihar. It is however doubtful if Prāṇanārāyaṇa and his ancestors were holding Bihar at the close of the 16th and in the beginning of the 17th century A. D.; for we know that Akbar, after crushing the rebellion of Daud Khan in 1574, placed Bihar under a separate Mughal Governor and it continued as a Subah or Province of the Mughal Empire under his successors. Vihāranagarī is plainly the capital of Kuch Bihar. The earlier capital of the country was Kāmatāpura, a few miles to the south of Kuch Bihar. After Nīlāmbar, the last king of the earlier Hindu dynasty was overthrown by Husain Shah, the Afghan ruler of Gaur, there was anarchy in the kingdom which gave an opportunity to the Koch tribe to establish itself in the country. The kings of this tribe traced their descent from a Koch woman named Hirā with whom the god Śiva is said to have fallen in love. They called their principality Bihār (Vihāra), because it was the scene of

11. Dates in the Nepal era are generally introduced with the word *Saṁvat* or *Nepāla-saṁvat*. This date is therefore unique in that it is preceded by the word *śake* like the dates of the Śaka era on other coins of Prāṇanārāyaṇa and other kings of Kuch Bihar.

12. *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LXIV (1895), Pt. XXIV, Nos. 1 and 2.

13. The verse is as follows:—

आस्ते काप्यमरावती च विलसद्दन्तीन्द्रदिव्यांगना-

युक्ता स्वर्णमयी विहारनगरी सा राजधानी परा ।

श्रीमच्छ्रीकमलाधिका मधुपतेरिन्द्रेण तुल्यस्य च

प्रत्यर्थिव्रजनिर्जितस्य नवपुन्नारायणस्यापि च ॥

14. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX p. 189.

Siva's amours with Hirā.¹⁵ Vihāranagarī is therefore the modern town of Kuch Bihār.

Prāṇanārāyaṇa who struck this coin was thus a ruler of Kuch Bihār. As other coins of the king do not show any Nepalese influence, it may be conjectured that he struck these gold coins to commemorate his matrimonial alliance with the king of Nepal.

15. W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. X, p. 404

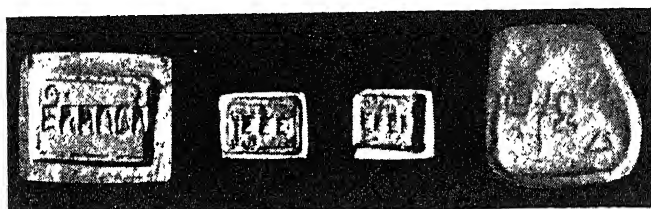
SOME SEAL-STAMPS FROM THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

BY PROF. M. M. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., NAGPUR.

During the last ten or twelve years some interesting seal-stamps have been discovered in the Central Provinces. They are described below.



1



2

3

4

5

No. 1. This seal-stamp was found some years ago while digging at the village of Māhurzari, about 9 miles north-west of Nagpur. Its lac impression and photograph were kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. G. R. Hunter M.A., D.Phil., now Director of Public Instruction C. P. and Berar. It is made of carnelian. The inscribed face which is nicely polished measures 17 mm. by 10 mm. The seal-stamp has tapering sides and weighs 24 grains.

The legend consists of only four *aksharas* and is inscribed in the reverse in a horizontal line. The letters being well sunk in the surface come out clearly in relief in a lac impression. The characters are box-headed. The letter *m* is angular as in the legends of Gupta coins and somewhat more so than in the Deotek stone inscription¹ of Rudrasena I. The seal-stamp may be assigned to the fourth century A.D.

The legend is *Apramāda* written in Sanskrit. *Apramāda* signifies carefulness or watchfulness. It was probably a

1. *Proceedings of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 ff.

Buddhist motto. The dying exhortation of the Buddha to his disciples was, '*Vayadhammā saṃkhārā, appamādena sampādethe'ti*' 'Decay is inherent in all component things; work (your salvation) with diligence or watchfulness'.² It is therefore clear that *appamāda* must have been an important watchword with the Buddhist brethren. There is a section on *appamāda* (Sanskrit, *apramāda*) in the Buddhist canonical work *Dhammapada*. There we are told that a Bhikshu who is devoted to *apramāda* never falls from his state and finds the Nirvāṇa within his grasp³. It is noteworthy that at the Buddhist site of Kuśīnagara (modern Kasiā) in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces, several clay seals with the legend *apramāda*, dating between A.D. 700 and A.D. 1000, were discovered⁴. In some cases the seals were combined with others containing the names of private individuals such as *Ghaṇḍakasya* or *Vāsukasya* or with another motto like *abhiprāsiddhi*. The present seal-stamp recalls the clay seal with the legend *Sānti* found in a Buddhist mound near Pakna Bihar. *Sānti*, as Cunningham pointed out, means rest, repose, exemption from passion, which was the goal of every pious Buddhist's aspirations⁵. Cunningham's suggestion that *Sānti* means the name of the owner of the seal cannot, however, be accepted. It is more plausible that *apramāda*, *śānti* and *abhiprāsiddhi* were only mottos used in sealing in order to remind the people of Buddhist ideals.

No. 2—This seal-stamp was brought to light in 1940. It was found on a hill near Parseoni about 16 miles north of Nāgpur. It was brought to the Nāgpur Museum for decipherment by one Ramchand, a mechanic of the Roman Catholic Workshop, Nagpur. The seal-stamp is made of agate and like No. 2, has tapering sides. Its inscribed face measures 14 mm. by 10 mm. The legend of six *aksharas* is engraved in the reverse in a horizontal line. The language is Sanskrit and the characters are of the fourth century A.D.

The legend is *Jitam Bhagavatā* meaning 'Victory has been attained by the Lord'. This is an auspicious formula. It is sometimes noticed in the beginning of ancient Sanskrit records.⁶ It occurs only in one record found in the Central Provinces and Berar, *viz.*, in the Riddhapur plates of the

2. This passage was brought to my notice by Dr. A. S. Altekar.

3. *Dhammapada* II, v. 12.

4. *An. Rep. A.S.I.* for 1905-6, p. 84; *ibid.* for 1906-7, pp. 63, n. 2; 64.

5. Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 37.

6. See, *e.g.*, the Uruvapalli grant of the Pallava prince Vishnugopavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 ff.), the Pikira and Maṅgalur grants of the Pallava king Śīṃhavarman (*Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 154 ff.), the Gadhwa stone inscription of Kumāragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 40) and the Hoskot grant of the Gaṅga king Avinita (*Mysore Arch. Rep.* for 1938, p. 81) etc.

Vākātaka dowager queen Prabhāvatiguptā.⁷ It cannot however be surmised from this that the seal-stamp belongs to the Vākātaka queen; for there is nothing to indicate that it belonged to a royal personage. Besides, the same legend is noticed on ten clay seals discovered in the excavations at Basarh. (ancient Vaiśālī).⁸ These seals generally have some religious device above the legend such as the wheel, conch, *triśūla* etc. The seal is sometimes seen combined with another containing the name of a private individual or a trade-guild. It seems plain, therefore, that like *apramāda* this was also an auspicious formula.⁹ Such seals were sometimes used singly, and sometimes combined with another, containing the name of the owner.

Nos. 3 and 4—These two seal-stamps were discovered by Mr. W. V. Grigson, I. C. S., now Secretary to the Governor, C. P. and Berar. They were found at the old site of Nandpur, now a village about 30 miles north by east of Nagpur. No. 4 has already been published by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal from a lac impression supplied to him by the late Dr. Hiralal,¹⁰ but No. 5 is being published here for the first time.

Both these are tiny seal-stamps of carnelian, each measuring 11 mm. by 8 mm. and containing four *aksharas* in one line. They are inscribed in box-headed characters of about the same age as those of the two preceding seal-stamps. I read the legend on No. 4 as Rudradeva and that on No. 5 as Bhavadeva. From the addition of *deva* to the name of No. 3, Jayaswal suggested that the original owner of the seal-stamp was a Vākātaka sovereign. Rudradeva is mentioned as a ruler of Āryāvarta (North India) in the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta¹¹. He is identified by some scholars with Rudrasena I of the Vākātaka dynasty. There was a second Rudrasena in the same family who was a son-in-law of Chandragupta II. It is similarly tempting to identify Bhava-

7. The formula is a Vaiṣṇava one and therefore it does not occur in the beginning of the charters of the Vākātaka kings, most of whom were devotees of Śiva. The only Vākātaka king who was a Vaiṣṇava was Rudrasena II, the husband of Prabhāvatiguptā. He is described in Vākātaka records as one who had attained great prosperity through the grace of the god Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu). Rudrasena II seems to have become a devotee of Vishṇu through the influence of his Vaiṣṇava wife Prabhāvatiguptā.

8. *Am. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1903-4, p. 111.

9. Other auspicious formulas like *Dharmo rakshati rakshitah* were also used. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

10. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 6. Jayaswal's statement that the seal-matrix was discovered at Nagardhana is incorrect as Mr. T. A. Wellsted informs me. According to Mr. Wellsted, Nandpur where the seal-stamps were found was the ancient capital of the Vākātakas. See his article in *J. A. S. B.*, (New Series), Vol. XXIX, pp. 159 ff.

11. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7.

deva with Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśiva family, who is mentioned in Vākātaka land-grants as the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I.

There is however no indication that these tiny seal-stamps belonged to great rulers like Rudrasena and Bhavanāga, ; for there is no royal title like *Mahārāja* or even the honorific *śrī* prefixed to the names. Besides, it may be noted that the names of ordinary people also sometimes ended in *deva*. See, e.g., the seals Nos. 46 and 67 with the legends *Ārya-Ru (Ri)-shideva* and *Jayadeva*, found in the excavations at Basarh¹². These seal-stamps therefore were probably of private individuals.

No. 5. This seal-stamp was found some years ago in the vicinity of Nagpur and was sent to me by Dr. G. R. Hunter. It is made of sand-stone. The inscribed face measures 20 mm. by 15 mm. It contains a legend of four *aksharas* inscribed in a horizontal line in the reverse with two signs in the second line below. The first of these signs is not known to occur elsewhere, but the second with the addition of a dot on the left is seen as a monogrammatic mark¹³ on some Gupta coins.

The legend is written in characters of the second or third century A. D. and is in Prakrit. I read it as *Brahmaṭitta* (Sanskrit, *Brahmagupta*). This Brahmagupta is not known from any other source and there is nothing to show what rank he held.

12. *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1903-4, pp. 112 ff.

13. V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Pl. XVIII, No. 45. The same sign in an ornamental form occurs at the end of the Yūpa inscription of the Maukhari Balavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 52 and Pl.

THE DATE AND ATTRIBUTION OF THE COINS OF VISHNUGUPTA; A CORRECTION.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

In the last part of this Journal, I had discussed the question of the date and attribution of the coins Vishnugupta, (pp. 57-9) and concluded :—

‘The balance of evidence *at present available* thus supports the view that Vishnugupta of the coins is to be identified with king Vishnugupta of the later Gupta dynasty, who, we now know, ascended the throne in 706 A. D. and ruled at least for 17 years’.

The language used above made it quite clear that there were certain difficulties in accepting this conclusion and these had been fully pointed out earlier. I had admitted that the palæography of the coins would go against placing Vishnugupta of the coins in the beginning of the 8th century A. D., and that the analysis of the Kālighāt hoard would suggest that Vishnugupta represented in it would have to be placed not long after the dates of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta II, who were principally represented in that hoard. It was possible to meet these objections to some extent, and there was the rather dubious evidence of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pointing out that Vishnugupta of the later Gupta dynasty had the epithet Chandra, which occurred on the coins of Vishnugupta of the Kālighāt hoard. It was this circumstance which principally induced me to suggest tentatively that Vishnugupta of the coins may be identical with Vishnugupta of the later Gupta dynasty.

The recent discovery of a fragmentary seal from Nālandā, a copy of the photo of which was kindly shown to me by Mr. Krishna Deva, M. A., scholar, Archæological Survey of India, however shows that my identification of Vishnugupta of the coins with Vishnugupta of the later Gupta dynasty is quite untenable. The conclusion rendered probable by the rather dubious testimony of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* has to be rejected in favour of the testimony of a contemporary seal, which proves the hitherto unknown existence of a Vishnugupta in the last quarter of the 5th century A. D. The inscription on the seal is being edited by Mr. Krishna Deva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, but I may quote just the relevant portions from it here.

L 2. *dhīrāja-śrī-Narasimhaguptas-tasya putras-tatpā-*
dānu - .

L 3.*rājādhirāja-śri-Kumāraguptas-tasya puttras-
tatpādānudhyāta*.....

L 4.*mahārājādhirāja-śri-Vishnuguptah*.

The discovery of this seal by Mr. Krishna Deva shows very clearly that Kumāragupta II, the son of Narasimhagupta, had a son named Vishnugupta. Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta of this seal are obviously to be identified with the rulers of these names known to us from the Saranath records, one of which supplies the date of 473-4 A. D. to the latter. The seal raises several problems ; it tends to show that Kumāragupta II was succeeded by Vishnugupta either immediately or after some time. If we accept the first alternative, we shall have to suppose that either he had a very short reign or was a contemporary of Budhagupta. If we reject both these views, we shall have to suppose that he was one of the successors of Budhagupta. We cannot discuss these problems here. The seal however shows that there was a Gupta emperor named Vishnugupta towards the end of the 5th century A. D. and the coins of Vishnugupta of the Kālighāt hoard, which were found in the company of those of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta II, have to be attributed to him. The palæography of the coins is in full agreement with this conclusion. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakūpa* seems to be confusing between the two Vishnuguptas, when it states that a King named Chandra, (which is Vishnugupta's *biruda* on coins), was the son of Deva(gupta).

I may add here that a further study of the facsimile of the Mangraon inscription of Vishnugupta of the later Gupta dynasty has now shown to me that the record is dated only in the 17th year of the king and not also in any era. The date of this king however continues to be what was suggested in my last contribution, namely the first quarter of the 8th century A. D.

THE COINS OF SHAMSU-D-DĪN MAHMŪD SHĀH

(By PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M. A.)

Mr. C. J. Rodgers was the first to draw attention to a billon coin of Shamsu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, in a book entitled "Coin collecting in Northern India", which was published in 1880. He did not describe or figure the coin at the time, but did so two years later in the J. R. A. S. for 1882. The curiosity was then forgotten, until Mr. Whitehead picked up another specimen and published it in N. S. XIV. (Art. 83, No. 2). He returned to the subject in N. S. XVII, Art. 102. The type is described and illustrated in Mr. Nelson Wright's "Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli (No. 423. pl. V.). A variety with a fragmentary Nāgarī legend has also been discovered more recently, *q.v.* *Ibid.* No. 423 A.

The coin itself is of a very common Dehli type, weighs 50 grains and exhibits the date 718 H. Mr. Rodgers suggested that it had been struck in connection with the conspiracy formed by a cousin of Qutḡbu-d-dīn Mubārak, named Asadu-d-dīn, to assassinate the Sultān on his return march from Devgirī. The plot was discovered by a disgruntled accomplice just before its execution and all those who were rightly or wrongly suspected of being implicated in it were put to death. Mr. Rodgers admitted that "there was no mention of Shamsu-d-dīn Maḥmūd in History" and that his explanation was only a 'surmise'. Mr. Whitehead was equally cautious and while repeating the conjecture, had nothing more to say than that "Shamsu-d-dīn Maḥmūd could have been nothing more than the figure-head of an obscure palace conspiracy." (N. S. XIV, p. 567).

Since then, Sir Wolseley Haig has advanced and endorsed the assassination-plot theory with much greater confidence than either of these numismatic experts. He has at the same time endeavoured to press into his service a vague rumour or report heard by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa during his sojourn in Delhi twenty years after the event. He contends that "Shamsu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh was either the title Asadu-d-dīn intended to assume, or more probably, that of a ten-year-old son of Khizr Khān, whose elevation to the throne was, according to Ibn Batutah, the object of the conspiracy." (Cambridge History of India, III, 121).

The fact of the matter is that the African globe-trotter says nothing about the plot of the Sultān's cousin and does not even

mention his name. All that he has to tell us is this : "After Kutbu-d-dīn had set off on this expedition, certain Amīrs determined among themselves to revolt against him and to place a son of his imprisoned brother, Khizr Khān, upon the throne. This child was about ten years old and near the Sultān. When the latter heard of this plot of the Amīrs, he took his nephew, seized him by the feet and dashed his head against the stones, till his brains were scattered" (Elliot and Dowson, III, 603; Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Ed. and Tr. III, 192).

One has only to read, side by side, this hazy and nebulous town-talk with Baranī's clear-cut and despatch-like narrative of Asadu-dīn's plot and the details he furnishes as regards time, place and circumstance, to gauge the comparative credibility of the two accounts. It may be also observed that no other author states that Khizr Khān had a son. It is, moreover, hardly likely that any such son was ten years of age in 718 H., as his first marriage to Alp Khān's daughter took place only in Ramazān 711 H. (*Ashīqa*, Aligarh Lith, p. 161; Elliot and Dowson, III. 553).

The question of the boy's age is a small matter and the hideous story of the poor child's murder may be believed or disbelieved as one pleases. But it is not easy to understand why this effeminate sensualist should have chosen the role of Executioner Extraordinary to himself, when he had at his beck and call myrmidons galore to do his wicked will. However that may be, it is impossible to get away from the fact that neither Ibn Battūṭṭa nor Baranī speaks of the conspirators having committed any such flagrant and overt act of high treason as striking coins in the name of either of the two persons who are alleged to have aspired to or been designated for the throne. And indeed, it is difficult to imagine how the protagonists of a conspiracy which was only in an embryonic stage and had taken no real shape at all should have openly usurped this jealously-guarded royal prerogative in anticipation of the success of their respective schemes, when the Sultān had been neither dethroned nor done to death and when he was in the first flush of a victorious campaign in the Dekkan.

Briefly, the two stories are extremely unlike each other. The Tangerine's tale is merely an echo of the flotsam and jetsam of bazar gossip, Baranī's account is the graphic description of a real historical event. The two conspiracies also could have had really nothing in common and the ring-leaders of the one faction must have been irreconcilably opposed to those of the other. The two theories of accounting for the coins are, therefore, not only inconsistent but mutually destructive and Sir Wolseley Haig's half-hearted endeavour to

sponsor both at the same time gets us nowhere and takes us no nearer a solution.

In the circumstances, it may be permissible to offer a very different explanation which is founded on an explicit 'literary statement' in a metrical chronicle of the Sultāns of Dehlī which was composed by a poet named 'Iṣāmī' in 1350 A. C. Its title is 'Futūḥ-s-Salāṭīn' and it has been recently published from the unique manuscript in the India Office Library by Dr. A. M. Husain of the Āgra College. It would appear from what this author says that these coins were issued, not in anticipation of abortive machinations to murder or dethrone Quṭbu-d-dīn, but to publicly proclaim the revolt of Malik Maḥmūd Yaklakḥī in the Dekkan. This man had been a favourite slave of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji' and had been *Nāib-i-barīd-i-mamālik* i. e. Director of the Postal and Political Intelligence Department under that Sultān. Quṭb-u-d-dīn then made him Governor of Deogiri and he revolted there soon after his master set out on the return-journey to Delhī, which appears, from Baranī's account to have been more like a "Rake's Progress" than the march of a king at the head of an army (*Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*, Text, 392; Elliot and Dowson, III. 216).

'Iṣāmī says that the news of Yaklakḥī's rebellion surprised and shocked Quṭbu-d-dīn at first, but he issued only two days afterwards, his commands to Khusrav Khān and five other Amīrs of note to march against the rebel, send him bound hand and foot to court and afterwards proceed to invade M'abar. Meanwhile, the rebel himself, elated by his temporary elevation to the honours of royalty, plunged into drink and debauchery, neglected state-business and made no preparations whatever for defence. The result was that when Khusrav Khān arrived, he found his work cut out to his hand. Many of Yaklakḥī's adherents abandoned the now hopeless cause and wrote letters professing their loyalty to the Sultān and their readiness to turn against the insurgent. A man named 'Amrān,' who was Yaklakḥī's *Qirbak* or *Qarābeg*, even took him prisoner by a stratagem while he was drunk and delivered him up to Khusrav Khān who sent him in chains to Dehlī. (*Futūḥ*, Text, 355-358). Baranī also mentions the rebellion of Yaklakḥī and adds that with a view to make an example, Quṭbu-d-dīn had the mutinous governor's nose and ears cut off. (*T. F.* 397, 1. 2 f. f.; E. D. III. 219). So far in regard to generalities. Coming to particulars relating to the question under consideration, we are indebted to 'Iṣāmī for the following illuminative and decisive statement. He writes that the courier, who brought the news of the revolt, spoke thus :

همان یک لاهی گشت از سهر بار بر آورد شوری به شهر و دیار
 لقب کرد خود راستم شمس دین سری تافت از شاه درونی زمین
 یکی چتر در دعوی پهلوی بر آورد دوزد سکه خسروی

"That same Yak lakhī has turned away from the king and raised thereby a great disturbance in town and country. He has violently assumed the title (*laqab*) of Shams-i-dīn and defied the authority of the monarch of the whole earth. He has got an umbrella hoisted over his head to support his claim to sovereignty and struck coins like a Khusrav (King)."

It will be seen that we have in these six lines, three explicit predications which are not only germane to the matter but almost absolutely conclusive.

·Iṣāmī declares that the insurgent viceroy assumed royal honours and the *Chatr* or Umbrella of Sovereignty. He styled himself Shams-i-dīn. He struck coins like a great king. Now this is just the sort of proof that we require, just the kind of contemporary literary testimony which is precise, pointed and unmistakable.

It may be perhaps necessary to point out that 'Yak lakhī', which literally signifies 'worth or bought for one lac' (of some indeterminate unit of the currency) is only a byname or sobriquet. His personal name is not given by Baranī, Nizāmu-d-dīn or Ferishta, but the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* incidentally states that it was Maḥmūd (Bibl. Ind. Text, 83, 1. 3) and this accounts sufficiently for his assumption of the *ilqāb*-Shamsu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, which has puzzled numismatists for sixty years. This author also states in his account of the rebellion that Yak lakhī

عصیان ورزید و علامت بادشاهی ظاهر گردانید

(*ibid.* 84, 1.9) "revolted and openly displayed the insignia of royalty", i.e., assumed the *Khutba* and the *Sikka*.

The Hijri year stamped on all the coins of both types is 718. This is in perfect accord with the date of this abortive revolt. Amīr Khusrav informs us, in a contemporary *Masnavī*, that Qutbu-d-dīn departed from Deogiri towards Dehli in the month of Jumādu-l-ākhir 718 H. (*Nuh Sipīhr* in E. D. III. 561) and that he crossed the Narmadā in a boat about the beginning of the month of Rajab 718 H. (*ibid.* 564). Baranī also tells us that the Sulṭān started on the return journey to Dehli when Canopus rose in 718 H. (*T. F.* 389, 1.11; 390, 1.10; E.D. III. 215).

A NEW COIN OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH II OF GUJARAT.

(By C. R. SINGHAL, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY)

This coin which forms the subject of this note was purchased along with four other copper coins belonging to Sūri and Mughal dynasties, from a firm of jewellers in Rangoon in the year 1940. Due to its unusual legend and fragmentary date, it was not assigned to any ruler, but on careful scrutiny, it has turned out to be a new type of Muhammad Shāh II of Gujarat. History tells us that he was a weak and merciful ruler and due to his lavish distribution of money among his subjects, he was called زربخش or "Money Bestower" by his people.

A reference to my Catalogue of Coins of the Gujarat Sultāns in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, will show that he struck two varieties of copper coins.

(a) Couplet type.

Obverse. سکه سلطان غیاث الدین محمد شاه باد

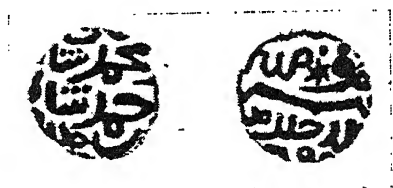
Reverse. تابد القرب گردون قرص مهر و ماه باد

(b) Ordinary type.

Obverse. غیاث الدینا والدین

Reverse. محمد شاه السلطان

In connection with variety (a), it may be mentioned that he was the first ruler of Gujarat to strike money with a high sounding couplet; Bahadur Shāh, his great-grandson followed him.



The legend on this coin runs as under :—

Obverse.

(بن) محمد شاه
(ا) محمد شاه

Reverse. المومنین
امیر

(۱) سلطان

خالد خلافت

۸۴ ×

A star over امیر

This legend reveals the following two points :—

(1) From the coins issued by him, he is known as "The Aid of the world and the Faith", غياث الدیناوالدين but on this coin, he has assumed the title of امیر المومنین "The Commander of the Faithful."

Before the discovery of this solitary piece, it was thought that the legend of امیر المومنین was first introduced by his two sons namely, Ahmad Shāh II and Mahmud Shāh Begda respectively, but this coin has proved that the originator of this title were not the sons but the father, as it usually happens.

(2) The coins known so far simply mention the name of Muhammad Shāh and not of his father, but in this variety the name of his father Ahmad Shāh I is also inscribed along with his own. Its date 84 × A. H. and weight 141 grs correspond to the issues of Muhamad Shāh II of Gujarat. (846-855 A. H. = 1442-1451. A. D.)

AKBAR'S EARLIEST KNOWN RUPEE OF LAHRI BANDAR.

(By DR. V. S. AGARWAL, M.A., Ph.D. CURATOR, PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW).

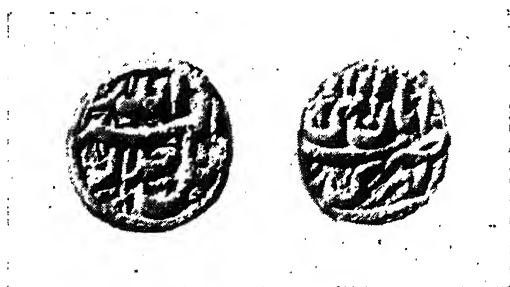
Dewal Bandar and Lahri Bandar are two mint towns of Akbar of which according to Hodivala very few coins are in existence (N. S. no. XXXIV, p. 181). Dewal Bandar was an old post in Sind, not far from Tatta, of which 3 silver rupees of Akbar of the usual Ilahi type are known, the dated specimen bearing year 42 (P. M. C., Whitehead, Mughal Coins, p. LXXIX).

Lahri Bandar was also an old seaport in Sind. The name is found on only 3 known rupees of Akbar of the Ilahi type (P. M. C., *ibid*, p. cv). One coin of this mint, as pointed out by Hodiwala is in the Punjab Museum (P. M. C. 483, Pl. III) bearing the month name *Āsar*, ninth in the Ilahi series, but without trace of a date. Mr. Whitehead reads 42 which is surely conjectural as can be seen from the plate.

According to Hodivala a second rupee of this mint was with Whitehead "which is undoubtedly of the 42nd year, but the month is *Dai*—the tenth in the Ilahi series". (Num. Sup. no. XXXIV, p. 181).

The third silver rupee of Lahri Bandar mint is in the Lucknow Museum bearing the month name *Ābān*—eighth in the Ilahi series. and dated according to Mr. Brown in the year 41 although the first numeral is marked with a query (L. M. C. no. 706, Pl. III). It appears that the date should be read as 42 even on this coin.

A fourth rupee of the Lahri Bandar mint (W. 174 grs. S. .85") was recently purchased by Mr. J. K. Agarwal of Canning College, Lucknow, from a dealer of Mirzapur mingled with some other rupees of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. The



month name is *Ābān* and the date which is very clear on the coin is 41 of the Ilahi era. This therefore becomes the earliest coin of the above mentioned two mint towns of Akbar.

An interesting point about the year 41 arises from the fact that the mint names Dewal Bandar & Lahri Bandar do not occur in the list of silver mint towns given by Abul Fazal in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. As pointed out by Hodiwala, in the *Ain* it is expressly said in the *Epilogue* that it was *completed* on the last date of the year 42. But Abul Fazl so often states that the "time of writing" was the 40th year, and in all probability the list of mint names by Abul Fazl was first drawn up in that year, Mr. Hodiwala in discussing the above point says that there are good grounds for holding that the list of mint names was revised at some time *before the end* of the 42nd year. (Num. Sup. no. XXXIV, p. 172) If the revision was done in the 42nd year we are unable to explain the omission of Dewal Bandar & Lahri Bandar from the list. The date 41 on our latest coin is in favour of the assumption that Abul Fazl had finally re-touched his list of mint names, at any rate before the month of *Āban* in the 41st year. As Hodiwala had already remarked the revision might have been done some months earlier. "If the line of demarcation is drawn at the 40th year, all these mints—Patna, Birat, Dewal Bandar, Lahri Bandar—would not have to be brought into the reckoning". (N. S. XXXIV, p. 182 footnote) The year 11 on the new coin lends countenance to the above view regarding the final revision of Abul Fazal's list of silver mint towns being done in the 40th year.

THE CORONATION MEDAL OF THE FIRST KING OF OUDH.

(BY SIR RICHARD BURN, OXFORD.)

This medal of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar was published by the late Mr. Nelson Wright in article 7 of the first number of the Numismatic supplement in 1904 from specimens belonging to him and to myself. We were not aware then that it had been published earlier. So I bring together previous references with a correction in Mr. Wright's reading of the inscription.

The earliest notice I have found is by H. H. Wilson in the Numismatic Chronicle No. XVIII October 1842, p. 129, which gives a plate, describes the historical circumstances, and offers a reading of the inscription.

In 1858 Edward Thomas published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at pp. 251-260 a list of the coins of Colonel Stacy with an estimate of their value. At p. 261 is the item, "An Oude Silver piece, wg (weighing) $7\frac{3}{4}$ tolahs" valued at Rs. 12, which I think must have been one of these medals. The weight is sufficiently near that of Mr. Wright's specimen, viz. 1260 grains.¹

Ten years later J. Karabacek described a similar piece in a paper entitled "Silbermedaillon zur Erinnerung an die Thronbesteigung Haidar Ali's, des ersten Königs von Auda in Hindustan" which appeared with a plate at p. 270 Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte, IV, 1868. He was not aware of H. H. Wilson's previous note. The Vienna specimen weighed 79 grams (= 1219 grains) which was equated to 7 rupees.

The inscription round the margin of the medal is ornate and the three readings vary. Probably the correct one is as follows. Obverse.

سکه زد بر سیم و زر از فضل ربّ ذوالنن
غازي الدين حيدر عالي نسب شاه زمن

In the second half of this verse Wilson read غازي for عالي while Karabacek appears to have understood عالي as part of the King's name. The couplet appears also on Ghazi-ud-din Haidar's coins of the fifth Nawabi year (1234) and later.

1. Two more specimens of this medal exist in Bombay. One is in the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum and the other is in the collection of Mr. Framroz Khan.

Reverse

تاهزار سال شاها بقای عمر تو بادا
هزار سال باشی تو در امان خدا

Karabacek began his reading with the last three words and read تا as ی adding it to خدا so he missed the verse. Wilson recognised the verse but in the first half omitted the first word تا and the final alif of بادا Nelson Wright read the last word but one as زمان instead of امان which other editors got correctly. In Wright's version the last two letters of the word بقای are printed so close together that the word might be read as بقلي which of course gives no sense. His reading has been copied at p. 76 of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal's "Catalogue of the coins of the Kings of Oudh" 1939 which has a clearer reproduction of the medal than the plate in the N. S., though it seems to have been reduced in size. Wilson's and Karabacek's plates are from drawings.

In 1819 Major General Sir Dyson Marshall K. C. B. was commanding at Cawnpore and was present at the enthronement of the king. He received one of the medals which is still in the possession of the widow of his great-grandson Colonel Marshall of the 37th Dogras. The family tradition was that only two pieces were given out, one to the chief civil and another to the chief military official present. Copies were probably given to the leading taluqdars, and the late Maharaja of Mahmudabad told me that he had seen specimens, but the medal is certainly rare.

The Lucknow Museum specimen had been acquired by Mr. C. J. Brown in Lucknow and the British Museum also has one. I have seen one in a private collection of medals which was exhibited at Leeds some years ago. Mr. Nelson Wright's medal has been acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

INDO-PORTUGUESE COINS

Silver issues of Diu

BY BRAZ A. FERNANDES

The commercial empire of the Portuguese in the East, whether considered in the dimensions which it attained, the brief space in which it was consolidated, its opulence, the splendour with which its government was conducted, or the very slender powers with which it was formed, is unique in the history of nations. That was the heroic age of Portugal, and the enterprise, skill and audacity of her daring adventurers overcame all obstacles. From the first, the Portuguese were not content to open mere trading depots and to ask permission of Indian princes to issue coins. They conquered places where they wished to trade, regulated the circulation of indigenous currency there, and opened mints for the issue of their own coins when and where required.

Although the mint of Goa which was established in 1510, was the first Portuguese establishment of its kind in India, several provincial mints came in course of time to be founded in their principal settlements along the coast of India. A mint was established at Cochin in 1544, at Bassein and Daman in 1611 and at Chaul in about 1644. But the important settlement of Diu on the Kathiawar Coast, which was occupied by the Portuguese as early as 1535, was left without a mint of its own. The monetary needs of Diu and its territory were met by supplies from the Goa mint. Side by side with the Goa supply, sundry coins of adjoining native and foreign countries, including coins of Persia, the *sequins*¹ of Venice, and the *larin*² were in use. The most popular coin in Portuguese Diu at that time was, however, a gold piece of Muzafar Shah II., of Gujarat, called *Muzafarshahi*, which the Portuguese had re-named *Madrafaxão*.

1. Venetian *sequin* was worth a little more than 50 *sols*. Manoel Barbosa puts them at 11½ to 12 *tangas*.

2. *Larin*, a piece of thick silver wire about three inches in length, bent double and slightly flattened to receive an impression. It takes its name from Laristhan where it was first introduced. The earliest mention of *larin* by a European is, so far as we are aware, the author of *Lembranças das Cousas da India*, (1525). At Cambay, the same author informs us, one *Tanga-Larin* was equal to 60 *reis*, and that 45 *larins* weighed one Portuguese *marco*, i.e., 50 grammes each. The editor of the *Subsidios*, taking a *marco* of silver in the reign of João III (1521-1557) as being equal to 2,500 *reis*, notes that the *larin* would then be worth 51,012 *reis*. In Pyrard's time the *larin* was worth a little more than the *tanga*; he says, a *larin* was worth 8 *sous*, and a *tanga* 7½ *sous*.

Under the Portuguese, the commerce of Diu rose in importance. Goods from Kathiawar and Gujarat were shipped to Europe direct; and the merchant-ships of the Portuguese and the Arab traders frequented the port in large number; the need was, therefore, felt for its own standard coinage. The Governor and the principal merchants repeatedly applied to the Home Government for permission to establish a mint, but all their attempts failed owing to the Goa opposition. In 1684, however, the permission was at last granted, but it was for one year only, and the coinage had to be confined to only gold and silver.³

The mint was opened in 1685, and once opened it was not closed. The conditions of the order were disregarded, and besides issuing gold and silver coins, coins of copper and also of *tutenag*⁴ were issued in great quantity and varieties. The mint was finally closed in 1859. Although large quantity of silver coins were issued from the Diu mint, the Numismatic Cabinet of the Bibliotheca Nacional de Nova Goa, which is the official Library and Museum of the Goa Government, contains only six specimens of the later issues in silver.⁵

Most of the issues of the Diu mint are crude and rough in execution, and the early issues are fantastic in design. Although large number of coins of all denominations were struck, they were irregularly produced at long intervals. A peculiarity of the numismatic history of the Diu mint is, therefore, irregularity and unsystematic arrangement of the coins regarding their design and standard.

The first coins struck by the Diu mint were without mint marks, but later issues have the mint marks; D-O, O-D, O- \square , D- \square , O-O, and some have the name DIO in full. We shall now proceed to enumerate the silver issues in chronological order.

(1) In 1686, three silver pieces were issued: *Xerafim*⁶ *Dobrado* (Double *Xerafim*), *Xerafim*, and *Meio Xerafim* (Half *Xerafim*). All the three denominations are of the same design and of a very crude type. These three coins are extremely

3. *Arch. do extinto conselho da fazenda de Goa*. Liv. 14, fol. 105 V; Teixeira de Aragão, *Descricao Geral e historia das Moedas cunhadas em nome dos Reis, Regentes, Etc.* (Lisboa, 1880), III, p. 559. Doc. No. 105.

4. *Tutenag*, is an amalgam of copper, zinc, nickel and iron, or pewter and tin.

5. *Catalogo das Moedas do Gabinete Numismatico* (Nova Goa, 1910).

6. *Xerafim* from Persian *ashrafi*, which was a gold coin, weighing about fifty grains, and equal to the Venetian *sequin*. Although originally Persian money, it became in course of time current on the Gujarat coast and in the countries along the Malabar Coast. *Ashrafi* takes its name from *Ashra* the place where the kings of Persia had their money coined.

rare. A specimen of the Double *Xerafim* is known to exist in the National Library at Lisbon. The *Xerafim* is in the Grogan collection,⁷ which we have illustrated, and the Half *Xerafim* is in the Campos collection,⁸ and there is another specimen in the British Museum.

Double Xerafim, Xerafim and Half Xerafim, Pl. VI, No. 1

Ob. Crude representation of arms of Portugal. Three beads in the central shield in place of the *quinas*.⁹ A chain of beads in the outer shield in place of the five castles.

Rev. Cross of St. George. Five nail-like ornaments projecting from each arm of the Cross.

The *Xerafim* is considered by Warden¹⁰ to be equivalent to 20 pence; or that thirteen of them are equal to the sterling £1-2-6. The Diu *Xerafim* was, however, about half a rupee in value. According to Nunez,¹¹ The value of Indo-Portuguese coins in Diu were :—

1 Axiry... ..	16 Fedeas... ..	11 Progis... ..	111 reis.
1 Fedea	1 reis		
5 Silver Tangas	1 Gold Pardao	300 reis.	
1 Perogil	8 reis		
42½ Perogis	1 Pardao or 5 Silver Tangas.		

Antonio Nunez notes that one *Pardao*¹² was equal to 300 *reis*, when the Factor made payment to soldiers and for military stores, but otherwise it was equal to 360 *reis*.

Coins of this issue, like most of the early Indo-Portuguese coins, have no indication of value on the face, and they do not correspond with the contemporary issues of Goa in weight. The Goa authorities immediately took up this question, and King, João IV, wrote to the Governor of Diu on March 17th 1688,¹³ drawing his attention to the discrepancies, and asking him to conform his coinage with that of Goa.

(2) In 1688, the Diu mint brought out a new series. In this the Cross of the Order of Christ appeared instead of the Cross

7. *Catalogue de la Collection Importante H. T. Grogan*, (Schulman. Amsterdam, 1914), p. 8f, No. 1390. Pl. XI.

8. *Manoel Joaquim de Campos, Numismatica Indo-Portuguesa*, (Lisboa, 1901) p. 218. No. 544.

9. *Quinas*, the central scutcheon of the Arms of Portugal containing the five castles.

10. *Report on the Landed Tenures of Bombay*, p. 7.

11. Antonio Nunez, *Livro dos pesos da Yndia, eassy Medidase Moedas*, (1554). Republished in *Subsidios para a historia da India Portuguesa*, by Rodrigo José de Lima Felner (Lisboa, 1868).

12. *Pardao*, from प्रताप (*pratapa*), being the name of the king in the legend in Devanagiri characters on certain Indian coins. The Muhammedans had already mangled the word, calling it, *partab*.

13. Teixeira de Aragão, *Op. Cit.* III, p. 560. Doc. No. 109.

of St. George. The pieces were dated and bore mint marks D-O and O-D. The issue consisted of *Xerafim Dobrado* and *Xerafim*. No Half *Xerafim* was issued as the Regulation of 24th October 1684 allowed only Double *Xerafim* and the *Xerafim* to be struck. Apparently, the Double *Xerafim* of this series was issued in 1688 only, as no specimens of other years have yet come to light.

Double Xerafim, PL. VI No. 2.

Ob : Crowned Arms of Portugal. D on the right and O on the left of the shield. Arms enclosed in a line circle.

Rev : Cross of the Order of Christ. Date 1688 in the angles of the Cross. The whole enclosed in a line circle.

Xerafim, PL. VI No. 3

Ob : Crowned Arms of Portugal, D on the left and O on the right of the shield. The whole enclosed in a line circle.

Rev : Cross of the Order of Christ. Date 1688 in the angles of the Cross. The whole enclosed in a line circle.

The *Xerafim* of this series was continuously struck for several years, although it is uncertain whether it was struck every year. The die was renewed from time to time, producing several varieties of the coin, some of which are now extremely rare.

In 1691, the die was re-engraved ; the five castles in the outer shield of the Arms slightly differed from the 1688 issue, (Pl. VI, No. 4). Specimens of this variety of *Xerafim*, dated 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695 and 1696 are known to exist. The die was again altered in 1699 ; the outer shield was made smaller and the lines forming the squares in the inner shield were thickened, Pl. VI. No. 5). In 1706 a new die was made. The shields, both outer and inner, were elongated (Pl. VI, N. 6) This new die was again touched in 1710, both obverse and reverse were enclosed in a double line circle, and the squares of the inner shield received one bead in each instead of five (Pl. VI, No. 7). Specimens of this variety, dated 1710, 1711 and 1713 are known to exist.

Pedro II died in 1706, and was succeeded by João V, but there was no change in the coinage of Diu, and it is uncertain whether any *Xerafim* of 1688 type was minted after 1713. In 1725 some changes were made in the standard of money by the Government at Goa, which Diu had to follow, but the operation of the Diu mint remained temporarily suspended.

(3) When the mint resumed its operation in 1729, two silver coins were issued—Rupee and Half Rupee. In this type the Cross of St. Thomas appeared for the first time in the history of the Diu series. Nazareth records Rupee of this type dated 1731 and 1736.¹⁴

Rupee and ½ Rupee (Pl. VI, No. 8).

Ob. Arms of Portugal. An arched band above the shield surmounted by a trifoliate ornament, to represent the crown. D on the left and O on the right of the shield. The whole enclosed in a line circle having short cross lines radiating outward.

Rev. Cross of St. Thomas. Date 1729 in the angles of the Cross. The whole enclosed in a line circle having short cross lines radiating outward.

(4) In 1741, the type of silver issue was again changed. The Cross of St. Thomas was discarded and the Cross of St. George resumed. This type is similar to the first issue, but cruder in execution and has a vulgar representation of the Arms of Portugal. Mint marks are again omitted, but the date in the angles of the Cross is retained. The issue consists of Rupee and Quarter Rupee. Specimens of the Rupee dated 1741, 1744, 1749 and 1750 are known. Probably Half Rupee was also issued but no example has yet come to light.

Rupee and Quarter Rupee Pl. VI, No. 9

Ob: A crude representation of the Arms of Portugal between two laurel branches. A curved comb-like device over the shield to represent the crown.

Rev: Cross of the Order of St. George. Five nail-like ornaments projecting from each arm of the Cross. The date 1741 in the angles of the Cross.

King João V, died in 1750 and was succeeded by King José I., The Diu mint now suspended its silver issues and confined itself to gold. Dr. Gerson da Cunha¹⁵ describes and illustrates a silver Rupee of 1752, containing a laureate bust of King José I., as having been struck at Diu. But the illustration which he gives (Pl. VIII. Fig. 1), is of a silver Rupee of the Goa mint;¹⁶ there is no evidence of any silver coin having been struck at Diu between 1750 and 1764.

(5) In 1764 the mint resumed striking silver, and the design of the new issue was altered. Still however it is crude

14. José Maria do Carmo Nazareth, *Numismática da Índia Portuguesa*, (Nova Goa, 1896. 2nd. Ed.) p. 169. No. 624/5 and No. 625/6.

15. *Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics* (Bombay 1880) pp. 94-95.

16. Compare Grogan Catalogue p. 102 No. 1651; Campos *Op. Cit.* p. 88. No. 104; Nazareth *Op. Cit.* p. 120 No. 354/75.

in form. The Cross of St. George with the date in its angles was retained. The Arms on the obverse still remained a vulgar representation, and the crown above the shield took an unrecognisable form. No mint marks. Rupee and Half Rupee were issued. This is the only silver issue of the reign of King Jose I., of the Diu mint, and it is dated 1765.

Rupee and Half Rupee (Pl. VII, Nos, 10 and 11).

Ob: Arms of Portugal. Three beads in the inner shield in place of the *quinas*. A chain of beads in the outer shield in place of the five castles. A mitre-like device above the shield to represent the crown.

Rev: Cross of St. George. Five nail-like ornaments projecting from each arm of the Cross. Date 1765 in the angles of the Cross.

King Jose died in 1777. Queen Maria I, and Pedro III, now reigned jointly in Portugal, (1777-1786). During this period, numismatic art in Diu seems to have improved. In 1781 a new type of Rupee was issued. It was a beautiful piece of work in comparison to the previous types, and also showed an advance on the metropolitan mint of Goa. It brought jugate busts of Maria I and Pedro III, on the obverse, and arms of Portugal in rococco style of Luis XV period, with a delicate crown on the reverse. This was an innovation; the Goa authorities were altogether unaware of this type of coin, although the mother country had already issued the jugate busts type. Goa was surprised and pleased, and they adopted the style for their own coins in the following year.

Rupee (Pl. VII No. 12).

Ob: Jugate busts of Maria I and Pedro III. DIO behind and RUPIA in front. The date 1781 in the exergue.

Rev: Arms of Portugal in rococco style of Louis XV period.

For some unexplained reason the Diu mint did not issue silver coins during the next twenty-five years. King Pedro III died in 1786 and Maria I, reigned alone. The jugate busts therefore, could not appear, and the design for the next issue had to be altered.

(7) In 1806, another type of Rupee made its appearance. The rococco style of arms on the reverse was retained, but the obverse now brought the Cross of St. Thomas with the date in its angles.¹⁷ Three denominations were issued.—Rupee, Half Rupee and Quarter Rupee.

17. Henry Grogan *Monthly Numismatic Circular* XX p. 13314; Da Cunha *Op. Cit.* Pl. VIII Fig 1.

Rupee Pl. VII No. 13

Ob : Arms of Portugal in rococco style.

Rev : Cross of St. Thomas with the date 1806 in its angles. Laurel ornament on the right and left. 600 (reis) above the Cross, and DIO in the exergue.

Half Rupee Pl. VII No. 14

Ob : Arms of Portugal in rococco style.

Rev : Cross of St. Thomas. DIO on the left, laurel ornament on the right. The date 1806 above the cross. The value 00€ (300 reis) in the exergue.

Quarter Rupee (Pl. VII, No. 15)

Ob. Arms of Portugal in rococco style of Louis XV period.

Rev. Cross of St. Thomas. DIO on the left. Laurel ornament on the right. The date 1806 above the cross. The value 051 (150 reis) in the exergue.

(8) Again the Diu mint suspended minting silver, and it was not until 1841 when Maria II, was on the throne that a new issue in silver was struck. This is a Rupee differing slightly from the 1781 type.

Rupee (Pl. VII, No. 16)

Ob. Arms of Portugal in rococco style of Louis XV period.

Rev. Cross of St. Thomas. The date 1841 in the angles of the Cross. Laurel ornament on the right and left of the Cross. The value 600 (reis) above the Cross. DIO in the exergue.

(9) The next and the last issue of silver coins of Diu mint was in 1859; they were *Pardao* or half a Rupee of 300 reis, and Half *Pardao* or quarter Rupee of 150 reis. The mint was then permanently closed.

Pardao (Pl. VII No. 17)

Ob. Arms of Portugal (Regular), enclosed in a circle of cross-lines.

Rev. Cross of St. Thomas. Laurel ornament on the left. DIO on the right. The value 150 (reis) above the Cross. The date 1859 in the exergue.

Half Pardao (Pl. VII No. 18)

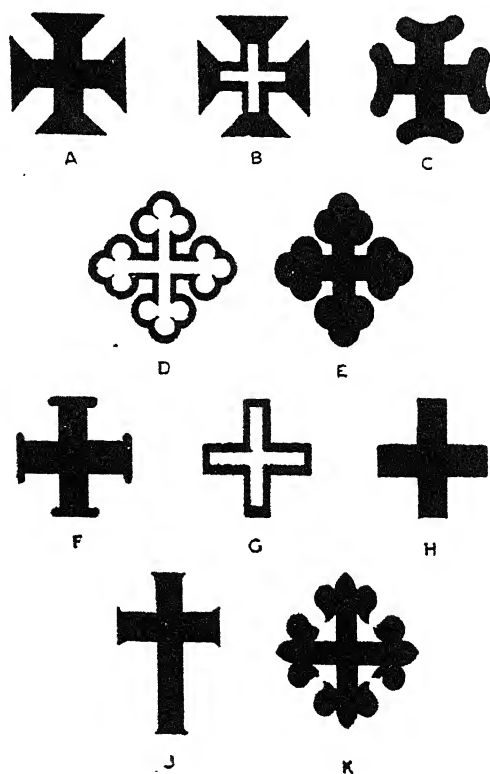
Ob. Arms of Portugal (Regular), enclosed in a circle of crosslines.

Rev. Cross of St. Thomas. Laurel ornament on the left. DIO on the right. The value 150 (reis) above the Cross. The date 1859 in the exergue,

Three different types of Cross have been mentioned in this paper, and two more will occur as we proceed with this series. It is necessary therefore, at this stage, to familiarise ourselves with the different types of the Cross and their varieties. Large number of Indo-Portuguese coins are mute, but if we study the circumstances and the periods in which each type of Cross was used; this knowledge, combined with other factors, makes our task of identification of the mute coins comparatively easy.

The Cross was obviously intended to constitute part of the scheme by which the currency was made the vehicle to show the existence of the intimate bond between the Church and the State. We find the same trait in some of the early European coinage. The symbol of the Cross was adopted on some of the money of the later Roman emperors from Constantine the Great, whence it found its way to the rest of Europe.

There are five types of Cross in the Indo-Portuguese series which are illustrated below.



(1) Cross of the Order of Christ, Figs. A, B and C.

- (2) Cross of St. Thomas, Figs. D and E.
- (3) Cross of St. George, Figs F, G and H.
- (4) Cross of Calvary, or of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, Fig. J.
- (5) Cross of the Order of S. Bento de Aviz, Fig. K.

The general type of Cross found on the Indo-Portuguese coins is the Cross of the Order of Christ. This Order was founded by king Diniz in 1314 as a military Knighthood. By the time king Emmanuel had succeeded to the Grand Mastership, the possessions of the Order in India and in Africa had made it the wealthiest fraternity in the whole of the Christian world.

Soon after the death of Emmanuel, and probably because the Order had become too powerful, its Grand Mastership was merged in the Crown, and the Order was turned from one of chivalry into one of diplomacy. The Order of Christ adopted the Cross of this type (Fig. A) as its emblem, which soon became the symbol of Portugal.

The Cross of St. Thomas and the Cross of St. George were not connected with any Order, but they are the typical emblems of the Saints who were taken as Patrons of Portugal at different periods of her history.

The Order of the Holy Sepulchre which adopted the type of Cross (Fig. J), was founded jointly by St. James, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, the Empress St. Helena, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I. The Order was a branch of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem which was approved by Pope Pascal II in 1113. Upon the fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre were driven out of Palestine, and some of them settled at Perugia. Gradually the Order lost its prestige, and was by Pope Innocent VIII, united to the Knights of Hospitallers in 1489. Pope Alexander VI restored the Order in 1496.

The Order of S. Bento de Aviz was founded by Henry I of Portugal. This was a military Order, members of which were mostly the Crusaders. Cross of this type (Fig. K) was painted on their shields and banners, and the type came to be adopted later by the monarchs of the House of Aviz, (1385-1578).

The Cross of the Order of Christ was first used in Portugal in the reign of Dom Fernando.

King João I of the House of Aviz (1385-1433) who ascended the throne at the age of seven, was elected Grand Master of the Order of S. Bento de Aviz. He ordered the Cross of Aviz to be engraved on his coins,

In the reign of king João II (1481-1485), the Cross of St. George was adopted. His successor king Manoel (1495-1521) favoured the Cross of the Order of Christ and the Cross of Aviz.

King João III (1521-1557) incorporated in the Crown the Cross of Christ, Aviz and S. Thiago. This was continued up to the reign of Dom Antonio, the Prior of Crato. Dom Antonio, however, adopted the Cross of S. Thiago, which was never adopted in India.

The House of Braganca, from the beginning of the reign of Affonso VI (1656-1683) adopted the Cross of the Holy Sepulchre, which was continued up to the reign of king Miguel (1834)

Maria II (1826-1834) was the last to adopt a Cross on the coins. No Cross appeared during the reign of Pedro V (1853-1861), and of Luiz I (1861-1889).

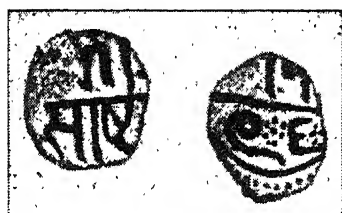
The last time when the Cross appeared was in 1898 in the reign of King Manuel, when special commemorative coins were issued in silver to commemorate the 4th centenary of the discovery of the Maritime Route to India. These coins were minted in Portugal and were current in all the Portuguese possessions, for a short period of three months. They bore the Cross of the Order of Christ.

A NEW MARATHA MINT.

(BY MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, BOMBAY)

Unfortunately only a few Marāthā coins and their mints have been published. The Marāthā coinage has not received as proper an attention of the numisatists, as it should have been, though a number of varieties of their coins is known.

The coin published here was recently purchased by me from a local dealer. It is a copper coin, about '6" in diameter and weighs grains. Its description is as follows:—



Obv. In a circle of dots along the rim, the numerical figure 96 in bold characters, below a horizontal line. Above it faint traces of some figures, only the vertical strokes of which are visible. In between the figures 9 and 6, a geometrical pattern of 6 dots with one in the centre; Figure 6 followed by four dots forming a quadrilateral.

Rev. Traces of some legend and the name of the mint *Sāshtī* (z), in clear bold Nāgari characters.

It is well known that the island of *Sāshtī* (Salsette) was in the hands of the Portuguese from the 16th century onwards upto 1670 A. D.; Chimaṇājī Appā, the great Marāthā General and brother of Peshwā Bājirao I, captured it by the famous campaign of Bassein in 1739 A. D. It was restored to the English by Peshwā Raghunāth Rao, by the Treaty of Sālbāi, in May, 1782 A. D.

The figure 96 stands for the year 1196, of the Hijri era, in which most of the coins of the Marāthās are dated. It corresponds to A. D. 1782, and therefore must have been struck under the authority of the Peshwā just before the treaty of Sālbāi.

NEWS AND NOTES.

BY THE EDITORS.

The presidential address of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, which is printed elsewhere in this Journal, gives an account of the various new discoveries of numismatic interest during the year 1941. We do not propose to cover here the same ground but only draw the attention of the readers to pp. 140-42 where he will find the necessary information.

NEW KINGS IN MADHYADESA

The account given in the address about the numismatic discoveries made by Dr. A. S. Altekar from the valuable collections of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas, the Executive Officer, Allahabad Municipality, can however be now amplified, and we shall therefore give here a more detailed account based upon a closer examination of these coins. Among the new kings discovered Vavaghosha seems to be one of the earliest. His coin legend is in almost Asokan characters and he will have to be placed in the 2nd century B. C. at the latest. His coin type shows that he belonged to the Kauśāmbī house, and he may have been a predecessor Aśvaghosha of that dynasty. Prajāpatimitra and Rājamitra are other new rulers who, to judge from their types, seem to have belonged to the Kauśāmbī family. A coin with the legend *Mudavi*, with one more letter but partially preserved, seems to belong to the 2nd century B. C. if not to an earlier period. A number of new interesting facts have been found in connection with the Pañchāla series. Two tiny uninscribed coins have been discovered, which have only one Pañchāla symbol on each side. Some Kauśāmbī types of coins have been found, which have one or two Pañchāla symbols restructured upon them. This would suggest the conquest of Kauśāmbī by the Pañchāla family. A Pañchāla type of coin of a hitherto unknown king named Yajñapāla has also been found. There is another coin with the legend gapāla, which may possibly be of Aṅgapāla or Vaṅgalāla, also belonging to the same house. A coin of Varuṇamitra not belonging to the Pañchāla series, but to the Kauśāmbī family, has also been discovered. In the Magha series a new king named Vijayamagha is now known from his coins. A number of Sātavāhana coins of the Mālavā type with legends much clearer than those on the coins published in the British Museum Catalogue have been discovered. Among these an Ujjayinī type of coin with a human figure standing, but having the legend Raño Siri Sātasa is most important. The coin will have to be referred to the early period of the Sātavāhana

conquest. We would also draw attention to a new Gupta copper coin with a rather indistinct legend, which seems to read Vanugupta. Detailed papers on these and a number of other new uninscribed types that have come to light in the very valuable collection of Rai Bahadur Vyas, will appear in a later number of the Journal. In the meanwhile we would congratulate Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas on the great discoveries which his valuable coin collection has led to. We wish him greater success in his very valuable collection work.

A LARGE HOARD OF GUPTA COINS LOST.

We regret to state that very recently a hoard of Gupta gold coins was discovered, while digging a well at a village called Devatha in Balia District of U.P., but that no coins from it could be recovered. It is said that the hoard consisted of more than a thousand coins, some of which were circulating in the markets of Benares. Unfortunately however almost all the coins were melted down, as the discoverers apprehended that they would be deprived of their coins under the Treasure Trove Act. If the hoard really consisted of more than a thousand coins, we have indeed suffered an irreparable loss.

NUMISMATIC DISCOVERIES AT KUNDAPUR.

The discovery of an important Sātavāhana town at Kundapur, 43 miles from Hyderabad (Deccan) will rank as a very important archæological discovery of the year. A number of Sātavāhana antiquities have been found, but the most important among them are the coins and coin moulds of the Sātavāhana period unearthed there almost on the surface of the site. It is clear that the place was a mint town of the Sātavāhana empire. We quote below an account of these discoveries from the report of K. M. Ahmad, M.A., LL.B., the discoverer of the site :—

“By far the most important discovery at this place is of about 1875 coins. The latest of the coins belong to the 2nd century A.D., while the other coins are of an earlier date. Among the coins one is of gold, representing the Roman pontiff, Augustus, who ruled from 37 B.C. to 14 A.D.; ten are of silver and represent the punch-marked variety of the oldest indigenous Indian coins. About a hundred are of an alloy of copper called potin and belong to the 2nd century A.D., while fifty are of copper and the remainder of lead. Copper and lead coins belong to the Āndhra kings.

“We are lucky enough to find the moulds of the coins of the Āndhras. Here I may add that these moulds have been discovered nowhere else. I do not think that Kundapur was

the capital of the Andhras. But as it was a mint city, it is evident that it must have been at the least a very important town.

“There is another discovery of rather an exciting interest. It is that of the moulds of punch-marked coins. The punch-marked coins discovered at Kundapur fit into these moulds. The original punch-marked coins were die-struck and not cast. But as here we have discovered these coins with moulds, I presume that during the Āndhra period these moulds were made from the original coins and then they were used for casting coins. This discovery solves another problem. No silver currency of the early Āndhras has been discovered as yet. From the above facts it is obvious that the Āndhras used the imitations of punch-marked coins for their silver currency.”

We hope to publish papers in this Journal on some of the important types of coins discovered at Kundapur. We congratulate Mr. K. M. Ahmad on his important discoveries and wish his spade greater and greater success at Kundapur.

COINS FOR SALE.

285 old Gadhaiya coins found at Chohtan, received from the Mehkma Khas of Jodhpur State, which were current in Malwa, Gujarat and Rajputana from the 8th to 12th centuries, are now kept for sale at the Jodhpur Museum.

Similarly, 59 Maratha coins of the Chandor mint (Ref. *I.M.C.*, Vol. IV, pl. XXVI, No. 10) are available at annas eleven each from His Majesty's mint at Bombay.

DAMAGE TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM COIN ROOM.

Members of the Society will be sorry to know that when the British Museum was damaged by bombs some time back, the coin room was destroyed. The coins and most of the special literature had already been taken away to places of safety, but notes and a few books and periodicals in actual use for reference were lost. Steps are being taken to replace these. Mr. John Allan, the Keeper, has lost his own books including his private copies of re-prints of papers. If any member of the Society has spare copies of his own papers on coins, it would be good if he sends a copy to Mr. Allan who has done so much for Indian Numismatics.

TREASURE TROVE NOTES

A large number of Treasure Trove coins are discovered in various provinces and a collective account of these finds is desirable to facilitate their proper study. We have, therefore, decided to give brief information of such of the Treasure

Trove finds as are brought to our notice by the respective authorities. We are thankful to them for supplying us with the information and hope that others will also do the same, so that these pages of our journal may, in due course, be able to supply a detailed knowledge of finds throughout India.

The Punjab.

A reference to the Report of Treasure Trove coins discovered in the province of the Punjab during the year 1940-41 shows that five finds of coins were reported and disposed of during the year.

(1) 2 silver coins were discovered at village of Madlodha in the Tahsil and District of Hissar.

(2) 132 silver coins were discovered at the village of Wadianwala, Tahsil Sialkot.

(3) 152 billon and copper coins were discovered at the Mud Fort at Abohar, District Ferozpur.

(4) 163 silver coins of the Mughal emperors from Shahajahan to Shah Alam II were discovered at the village of Sial, Tahsil Pasrur, District Sialkot.

(5) 119 silver coins wherein are represented the issues of Muhammad Shah and Shah Alam II only.

Nos. 4 & 5 are not yet disposed of.

No find of ancient coins was reported during the year.

The United Provinces.

A report from the Secretary, Coin Committee, U.P., shows that 15 hoards of Treasure Trove coins were found and disposed of during the year 1940-41 and ten finds were noted during the year 1941-42. Last year's finds consisted of 49 gold, 535 silver and 24 billon and 431 copper coins, wherein were represented punch-marked coins and the coins of Bhojadeva, Vighrahapāla and Govindchandra, the issues of the Sultans of Delhi and the Mughal as well as post-Mughal coins. The important finds of the year represent a hoard of 65 punch-marked coins from the village Saunrai Buzurg, Tahsil Sirathu, District Allahabad and another hoard from village Ramnagar, District Jaunpur. The former were of the usual Kārshāpana variety of 16 *māshas* bearing 5 obverse symbols on each coin, while 2 coins from the latter are interesting in the domain of punch-marked coins. They can be identified as the coins of the Kōśala country of about the 5th century B.C. For a detailed information, reference is invited to the Presidential Address published elsewhere in this issue.

The noteworthy additions to the Lucknow Museum during the year consisted of a silver *tanika* of Mahmud Ghazni of Mint Muhammadpur bearing a Sanskrit translation of the *Kalima*

and seven cupshaped punch-marked coins of ancient Kośala country representing a new type, as stated above.

The list of the Treasure Trove coins discovered during the year 1941-42 is as under :—

Lot No.	Date of receipt.	Locality.	No. of coins. G. S. C.	Class of coins.
1-2.	17-5-41			
	27-5-41	Badaun	... 15 ...	Mughals.
3.	13-6-41	Sultanpur	... .. 86 B.	Sultans of Delhi.
4.	21-7-41	Allahabad	... 21 ...	Punch-marked
5.	25-7-41			Mughals and
	19-8-41	Etawah	... .. 114	Sultans of Delhi.
6.	26-8-41	Rai Bareli	2 10 ...	Mughals.
7.	8-9-41	Banda	1	Sultans of Delhi.
8.	1-11-41	Jaunpur	... 37 ...	Mughals.
9.	8-11-41	Mainpuri	... 20 ...	"
10.	24-11-41	Meerut	... 59 ...	E.I. Co. in the name of Shah Alam II.
	17-1-42			

Bombay.

(1) 76 silver coins were discovered at Hadsar in Taluka Junnar, Poona District. They were all Aurangzeb's coins of various mints and dates including one from Nasratgadh mint issued in the 45th regnal year in 1113 Hijri.

(2) 114 gold coins were discovered from Patan, District Satara, which consisted of 106 coins of the rulers of Vijayanagar, 3 coins of the Khalifa Sultans of Constantinople and 5 Venitian ducats. This combination is important inasmuch as it is suggestive of the trade relations.

(3) 73 silver coins from Baglan, District Nasik.

(4) 89 silver coins from Prakasha, Taluka Shahada of West Khandesh.

(5) 89 gold coins, *Padma-tankas*. They were discovered in the village Maldunge situated to the west of Matheran in the valley below. They were of three varieties of the King Śrī Rāma of the dynasty of the Yādavas of Devagiri.

(6) The last find of the Treasure Trove coins during the year was that of a hoard of as many as 3877 billion coins. This is perhaps the biggest hoard of coins of the Sultans of Delhi so far discovered. It contains 694 coins of Balban, 3089 of Alauddin Muhammad Shah Khilji and 94 coins of Tughlaq Shah I. They are all of almost the same size, weight

and type. The only new coin found in this lot is that of Alauddin Muhamad Khilji dated 703 A. H.

Central Provinces.

The Curator, Nagpur Museum, has kindly sent a list of the various lots of Treasure Trove coins discovered in the Province during the year 1941, which shows that in all there were 8 lots found during the year. The first lot consisted of 47 copper coins found in the village Banera of Tahsil Waraseoni in the Balaghat District. All of them were Bahmani coins of Ahmadshah II. 46 coins out of this lot are acquired for the Nagpur Museum. The second lot of 45 silver coins was discovered at Chandupur in Tahsil Seoni, the District of Chhindwara. These were all mutilated Post-Mughal coins of Shah-Alam II and hence were not at all acquired. The same was the case of the third lot of eight similar coins of silver found at Salunja Kalan, in Tahsil Sohagpur, District Aurangabad. The fourth lot of 458 copper coins was discovered at Jallu, Taluq and District Amraoti. These coins are of the Mughal emperors Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah. The fifth lot of 45 copper coins, found in Chikhli, Tahsil and District Balaghat, was of Bahmani kings. The condition of the coins, however, being bad, the lot was not acquired. The sixth find of 40 copper coins of the Sultans of Malwa from Goara, Tahsil Sihora of Jubbulpore District was not acquired as the coins were completely worn out. The seventh lot contained 17 gold coins of the Padmataṅka type found at Bhadrawati in Tahsil Warora of the District Chanda. This is still pending. The eighth and the last lot of coins discovered in December at Bhandeli in Tahsil Warora of Chanda District contains 4 gold and 835 silver coins of the Mughal emperors.

Madras.

Report of the Government Museum for the year 1940-41 records a long list of T. T. coins discovered during the year in the Madras Presidency, detailed in Appendix I under accession Nos. 681 to 717, i. e. as many as 37 finds consisting of 484 gold, 852 silver and 191 copper coins in all. The gold coins were mostly the small Panams. The rest were either Vijayanagar or Mysore coins except a few Italian coins. The silver coins were mostly Post-Mughal or Indo-British.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, 1941.

BY C. R. SINGHAL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

The annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India for the year 1941 was held on the 21st and 22nd December 1941 in the premises of the Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan). The following members were present :—

1. Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, (President).
2. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.
3. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B.
4. Dr. P. M. Joshi, M.A., Ph.D.
5. Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.
6. Mr. R. S. Panchmukhi, M.A.
7. „ P. C. Rath, B.A.
8. „ G. M. Kodolikar, M.A.
9. „ I. B. Patel, B.A., LL.B.
10. Moulvi Shamsuddin Ahmad, M.A.
11. The Curator, State Museum, Pudukottai.
12. The Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
13. The Curator, Peshawar Museum, Peshawar.
14. The Superintendent, Archæological Department,
Government of Jodhpur, Jodhpur.
15. Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt. (Editor).
16. Mr. R. G. Gyani, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Editor).
17. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, M.A., LL.B. (Secretary).
18. Mr. C. R. Singhal, (Assistant Secretary & Treasurer).

1. Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal read his presidential address, which is printed at the end of these proceedings.

2. The Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, M. A. (Oxon), then delivered a short speech, emphasising the importance of numismatics to the study of history. At the end of his speech he stated that the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar had considered the request of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the President of the Numismatic Society of India, for a recurring annual grant to the Society in order to enable it to prosecute its research and publication work with greater vigour, and has decided to give an annual recurring grant of Rs. 200 for that purpose. The announcement was received with great applause by the meeting.

3. The Society placed on record its deep sense of sorrow for the sad demise of Babu Durga Prasad, B.A., of Benares and of Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I. C. S. (Retd.) of Surrey,

England. Babu Durga Prasad was a man of versatile genius and has made valuable contributions on punch-marked coins. Mr. H. N. Wright was a foundation Member of the Society and was the author of several Catalogues of Muhammadan coins. His memory is perpetuated by his introduction of the Nelson Wright Medal which is awarded annually for a contribution on Indian Numismatics of outstanding merit.

4. The following papers were read and discussed :—

- (a) "Some Seal stamps found in C. P." by Prof. V. V. Mirashi.
- (b) "A new coin of Panchāla of Prajāpatimitra" by Dr. V. S. Agarwala.
- (c) "Hephthalite coins with Pahlvi legend" by Dr. J.M. Unvala.

Dr. A. S. Altekar then spoke on the discoveries he made in the course of his examination of the collections of coins belonging to Mr. B. M. Vyas of Allahabad. He made out names of 13 new kings who ruled between 2nd century B. C. to 2nd century A. D. at various places like Kausambi, Ahichhatra etc. These will form the subject of a paper in our Journal.

Papers from Capt. Tarapore, Mr. Parmeshwarilal Gupta and Mr. L. P. P. Sharma were taken as read.

5. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India explained at length his proposals on examination and distribution of the Treasure Trove coins found in India. He laid emphasis on the advisability of adopting uniform methods to ensure the scientific study and value of hoards by experts of the Numismatic Society of India, which should serve as a central bureau of information and advice to all the Governments and States. He further suggested that the hoards should not be dispersed unless and until they have been thoroughly studied.

Resolved that steps be taken to give effect to Rao Bahadur's proposal as far as possible, and the Government of India be approached to ask the Provincial Governments and the Indian States to communicate to the Numismatic Society of India the discovery of any Treasure Trove finds and their allocation to other museums as soon as possible.

6. Resolved that in addition to 25 copies of the off-prints of his article, a copy of the Journal should also be given to a contributor who is not a member of the Society.

7. Resolved that the Nelson Wright Medal for 1941 be awarded to M. M. Prof. V. V. Mirashi of Nagpur for his valuable contributions on the coins of the Kalachuri dynasty published in Journal No. III Part I.

8. The accounts of the Society for 1941 as prepared by the Assistant Secretary and Treasurer were placed before the meeting and passed.

9. Resolved that in accordance with the rules the following gentlemen who have been in arrears over three years cease to be the members of the Society.

- (1) Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya of Calcutta Museum.
- (2) „ V. N. Kak of Udaipur.
- (3) „ B. N. Kapoor of Lucknow.
- (4) „ H. C. Ray of Calcutta.
- (5) Dr. B. A. Saletore, of Ahmedabad.
- (6) „ Hiranand Shastri of Baroda.

10. Resolved that the following gentlemen be appointed as members from the year 1942 :—

- (1) The Librarian, Punjab University Library, Lahore.
- (2) The General Honorary Secretary, Archæological Society, Junagadh.
- (3) The Curator, Dacca Museum, Dacca.
- (4) Mr. Y. Venkataramana, M. A., P. R. College, Cocanada.
- (5) Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, Madras Government Museum, Madras.

11. Resolved that the Managing Committee for 1942 be formed as under :—

President: Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, 80, Latouche Road, Lucknow.

Vice-President: Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Secretary: Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, M. A., LL. B., Curator, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad.

Asstt. Secy. & : Mr. C. R. Singhal, Prince of Wales Museum, Treasurer Bombay.

Editor: (1) Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt., Hindu University, Benares.

(2) Mr. R. G. Gyani, M. A., M. R. A. S., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Members: (1) Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., F. R. A. S. B., Director General of Archæology, New Delhi,

- (2) Mr. A. S. Shere, M. A., Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
- (3) Dr. M. H. Krishna, M. A., Director of Archæology, Mysore State, Mysore.
- (4) Prof. M. M. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., Shanti Sadan, Congress Nagar, Nagpur.
- (5) Mr. M. B. Garde, M. A., Archæological Department, Gwalior.
- (6) Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna.

12. Resolved that the next annual meeting of the Society be held at Aligarh along with the Session of the Indian History Congress.

13. Resolved that the grateful thanks of the Society to the U. P. and Bombay Governments be recorded for their generous annual grant of Rs. 300/- each in order to meet the expenses in connection with the printing of its journal.

14. Resolved also that the grateful thanks of the Society be recorded to the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar for their generous annual grant of Rs. 200/- to the Society for expanding its activities in the cause of research in Indian Numismatics. The Society placed on record its appreciation of the valuable services of Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Secretary of the Society, in making good arrangements in connection with the annual meeting of the Society at Hyderabad.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, 1941.

BY RAI BAHADUR PRAYAG DAYAL, LUCKNOW.

Conscious as I am of the honour and responsibility that attach to the office of the President of the Numismatic Society of India, and also of my own limitations, it was with great reluctance that I could persuade myself to accept the pressure of friends, some of whom I hold in great esteem, to shoulder the responsibilities of the post. I was conscious that there were other distinguished numismatists whose valuable contributions to the science entitled them in a greater measure for the honour which had once been held by such veteran numismatists as Nelson Wright, Whitehead, Hodivala, Dr. Jayaswal, Sir Richard Burn and Dr. Panna Lal. But I would have been considered discourteous if I had persisted in refusing to accede to the generous wishes of my co-workers who desired to express in a concrete form their appreciation of my humble services to the Society. I owe it, therefore, as my most pleasant duty to offer you my grateful thanks for conferring on me this honour.

Before commencing the session it is my sad duty to pay a tribute to the memory of two distinguished numismatists whom death has snatched away from our midst. Babu Durga Prasad, B.A., who died at Benares on 23rd March 1941, was a man of versatile genius. He took to numismatics rather late in life, but his concentrated application secured for him a deep insight into the subject which resulted in contributions of outstanding merit in the field of punch-marked coinage. These have served to give a direct impetus to the study of this most ancient coinage of our country, and it is hoped that the way to the understanding of the sequence and the interpretation of symbols opened up by him may lead to the final determination of the full historical bearings latent in this class of coins.

Mr. Nelson Wright, I. C. S. (ret'd.), whose death was reported with some delay owing to war conditions by the Times of India, dated 17th Oct. 1941, passed away on 13th May 1941, at his home in Surrey at the ripe old age of 71. Mr. Nelson Wright was one of the foundation members of the Society and the first Editor of its Numismatic Supplement. His association with the Society since its inception in 1910 upto his retirement from India in 1924 contributed in a substantial manner to its prosperity and expansion, particularly in the early stages. He will long be remembered for his sound researches

in Muslim numismatics as embodied in volumes II and III of the Coin Catalogues of the Indian Museum and in his latest standard work on the Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi which is a *Corpus* on the subject. His connection with our Society is perpetuated in the form of the Nelson Wright Medal founded by him, to be awarded annually for a contribution on Indian Numismatics of outstanding merit. I am specially reminded of his last words while leaving India in relation to the Society, when he exhorted us not to let it die of inanition. The message has served as an inspiration to me throughout, and I am glad to say that the Society has lived up to his words and has witnessed an all round steady progress.

The present session of the Numismatic Society has got the rare opportunity of meeting at the capital of the premier Indian State on an occasion which is unique in that the two great organisations of Indologists in this country, namely, the All-India Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress are holding their sessions simultaneously at this very place. This offers a singular opportunity to scholars working in various fields of Indian history and archæology to come into closer contact and become acquainted with the researches carried on in the spheres of historical science other than their own. It is by utilizing such occasions that the specialist can rise higher and have a wider outlook so as to co-ordinate the results of his special studies with those reached in other fields and relate them to knowledge as a whole.

It may perhaps be considered too late in the day to speak of the importance of numismatic data in relation to history, but it certainly is the occasion when I could effectively draw attention to the claims to which the study of Indian coins is entitled by its epoch-making contributions during recent years towards the elucidation and reconstruction of ancient Indian history, specially in the series of punch-marked and tribal coins.

Looking to the past history of the region now known as the Nizam's Dominions, it appears to me that there is a vast scope for reaping within the State a numismatic harvest as rich and fruitful as in any other place in India, where the Society has met in previous years.

The Hyderabad State roughly bounded by the Godavari and the Krishna has been the meeting place of two great culture-streams, namely, at first the Aryan and the Dravidian, and more recently the Hindu and the Muslim. The happy result of this mingling, which is a unique feature of this territory, is reflected in the harmonious culture complex prevailing in the State. The most conspicuous outcome of the mutual contributions

and borrowing of these great racial and linguistic currents is visible in the creations of art and architecture of which the State possesses a singularly rich heritage. The art treasures of Ajanta and Ellora, the temples of Warangal and the great monuments of Gulbarga and Bidar represent the highest achievements of the Indians in the domain of art from the beginning of the 1st century B.C. to the present days.

The possibilities of numismatic research in the State are immense as proved by the numerous Treasure Trove finds reported from various districts during the last twenty-five years. These represent a true index of the various empires and dynasties that have flourished in this region. Leaving aside the existence of the numerous prehistoric sites and the antiquities recovered therefrom, the oldest historical monument is of course the Maski Rock Edict of Asoka which proves the extension of the Mauryan Empire over this territory. The numismatic confirmation of this fact is forthcoming in the form of hoards of punch-marked coins found as Treasure Trove, consisting of 420 coins from Karimnagar district in 1928-29 and 63 coins from Raichur district in 1935-36. The excavation at the old site of Paithan (ancient Pratishthāna) on the Godavari, capital of the Āśmakas, whose antiquity is established by the reference to them in Paṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and in Pali literature, have also brought to light some punch-marked coins. The coins from Karimnagar were published in some details by Mr. T. Shreenivasa, and, although it is evident from his account that the hoard contains many coins of the variety assigned to classes II & VI by Allan, it must be observed that the decipherment of symbols left much to be desired and requires to be re-examined in the light of the latest researches on the punch-marked series and to be adequately published. The recent find at Kondapur of different types of Āndhra coins and imitations of Roman types indicate potential numismatic wealth, which deserves to be systematically tapped. It is gratifying to note that Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad has noticed these coins in detail in his paper on the antiquity of Kundapur incorporated in the Proceedings of the Hyderabad Archaeological and Historical Society held on August 10, 1941.

The unity of the North and the South witnessed in the coinage of the Mauryas was broken about the 2nd century B. C. after which the history of the coins found in the State shows its independent evolution in the form of the issues of the Āndhras, Chalukyas, Pallavas, Rāshtrakūṭas, Yādavas and of the great Vijayanagar kingdom. The Āndhra coins from Paithan found in 1936-37 are of extraordinary interest in that the symbols of the Bodhi tree and Svastika on them

are said to be very alike to the emblems found on the Taxila coins. The most remarkable hoard of the coins of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty of Vengi was found at *mauza* Dundapahad in the Nalgunda district in 1925-26. The coins weighing 4920 tolas represented the issues of the first King of that line named Vishamasiddhi alias Vishnuvardhana (615-633 A. D.) who was the grandson of Pulakeśi I of the early Western Chalukya dynasty, and younger brother of Pulakeśi II in whose reign Vishamasiddhi extended the limits of the empire to the eastern country. The next conspicuous stage in the history of the coinage of these regions is represented by the extensive gold issues of the Vijayanagar emperors beginning from Harihara II (1374-1406 A. D.) down to Sadāsiva Rāya (1542-1573).

An account of the numismatic wealth of the State would remain incomplete without a reference to the coinage of the kings of the Bahmani dyansty and its various off-shoots and the issues of the Mughal Emperors, e.g., the rare coins of Aurangzeb, mint Nusratabad, and of Muhammad Shah, mint Ahmadabad. We must be thankful to Mr. G. Yazdani for having brought to light the above coins and published them in the pages of the Hyderabad Archaeological Reports so ably being edited by him.

As regards fresh discoveries, this year does not appear to be particularly fruitful, but some finds of interest are reported. In the Punjab the discovery of four gold coins of the later Indo-Scythian ruler Sita with Pahlavi legend is reported from Nankana Sahib. Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, who examines the Hindu Treasure Trove coins from Punjab, has now arranged to have the coins examined by Pahlavi experts. The coins of this series with their cryptic names are still an enigma to numismatists and it is hoped that some light will be thrown by the Pahlavi legend on them.

The Secretary of the U. P. Coin Committee reports fifteen Treasure Trove finds of which two represent the punch-marked series. The one consisting of a hoard of 65 coins from Tahsil Sirathu, District Allahabad, includes coins bearing the usual five symbol groups, on which a detailed note is under preparation by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. The other hoard from village Ramnagar in Jaunpur district consisting of two coins is remarkable for bringing to light an unknown variety of early punch-marked coins. The hoard is said to have originally consisted of more than a hundred pieces of which about a dozen have also indirectly reached the Museum cabinet. The coins, as reported by Dr. Agrawala in the Annual report of the U. P. Coin Committee, are of a thin and broad fabric, and are of 78 grs. or 44-45 *rattis* in weight. Noteworthy points about their symbols are : (1) the obverse symbols are four in number and

bigger than the usual size ; (2) a definite scheme of orientation is evident in the punching of the symbols which is unknown in the series of five-symbol groups ; (3) symbols 1 and 3 are similar and punched opposite to each other, which is virtually the same symbol repeated twice ; (4) symbols 2 and 4 are different from each other and from the rest ; (5) of the last two, at least one symbol shows a circle and a pellet in the centre and the other is without them : (6) the smaller symbols which may be called the reverse symbols are punched indiscriminately on obverse and reverse, but are more numerous on the obverse, making the coins slightly cup-shaped. These coins may be identified as the ancient currency of the Kośala Janapada prior to the introduction of the standard Kārshāpaṇa of 16 Mashas or 32 *rattis* in weight and may be assigned to the 5th century B. C.

Reference has already been made in Dr. Panna Lal's learned address to the possibility of recovering new coins of Pañchāla rulers from the excavations at the ancient site of Ahichhatra, being conducted under the Director General of Archæology. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit for the information that the work of the last season has brought to light the coins of an unknown Pañchāla king, whose name can be clearly read on the coin as Varuṇamitra. Simultaneously with this Dr. V. S. Agrawala tells me that the re-examination of the Panchāla cabinet in the Lucknow Museum has revealed the existence of two coins of a new king of this dynasty, whose name is Prajāpatimitra ; a note on these coins is being published by him in this number of our Society's Journal. Two coins of Achyuta with the rare Roman bust on obverse together with the legend *Achyu* have also been found at Ramnagar.

The tale of the discoveries of punch-marked coins has this year been carried to the distant south where, as reported by Dr. Aiyappan, a lot of 1138 silver *Purāṇas*, was found at Bodinayakkanur in Madura district. Every specimen of this hoard is said to bear only one mark on the reverse, which is identical on all the coins. The previous hoards from the Madras Presidency came from Coimbatore and Trichinopoly districts and the present find definitely extends the area of circulation of this series to the far south in the very heart of the ancient Pāṇḍya kingdom. And finally I may refer to the discovery of a curious copper band 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ " long, 1" wide and $\frac{1}{10}$ " thick at Patna, belonging to the Mauryan or pre-Mauryan period, bearing as many as 22 marks, similar to those that are to be seen usually on punch-marked coins hailing from Takshaśīla. I am obliged to Mr. Shere, Curator of Patna museum for this information.

Dr. A. S. Altekar has recently communicated to me a brief account of very important discoveries made by him in the valuable collection of coins belonging to Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad. Several new kings have been brought to light, who ruled during the two centuries preceding and following the Christian era. Among them Vavaghosha, Rājmitra, Prajāpatimitra and Varuṇamitra may be mentioned. A coin of Vijayamagha of the Kauśāmbī series and Mālava types of coins with Sātavāhana legends have also been discovered. Dr. Altekar will be exhibiting and discussing these coins at this meeting of the Society.

The growing interest in the study of punch-marked coins is represented in the contributions published during the year. Mr. Walsh, who has already distinguished himself by his systematic and intensive researches in this important branch, has brought out a detailed paper on an old hoard of 105 coins in the Lucknow Museum in our journal. It is gratifying that inferences of chronological value, based on the symbols, fabric and weight of the coins, are now gradually accumulating which may ultimately unravel the mystery regarding their issuing authority and the period of circulation.

The extraordinary resemblance existing between the symbols on the punch-marked coins and the signs on the seals from the Indus valley has already attracted the attention of scholars. This point must await final elucidation till the decipherment of the pictographic script on the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa seals. It may, however, be mentioned in the meanwhile that Mr. T.G. Aravamuthan, Numismatic Expert of the Madras Museum, has attempted to trace back the ancestry of some more coin symbols to the signs on the Harappa seals in a comprehensive paper dealing with "Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture". Prof. D. D. Kosambi's work on the "Study and Metrology of silver punch-marked coins" published in the *New Indian Antiquary* of Poona deserves special notice, as it is the result of utmost painstaking research and very careful mathematical calculations. His inferences based on the relative weights and the rate of depreciation deserve careful attention, but his suggestion to interpret the symbols in terms of letters denoting the names of rulers must be taken with caution.

The rich coin finds from Rairh excavations in Jaipur referred to in last year's address seem to have been examined in detail by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit who has ably summed up the new information in his note in our Journal. It acquaints us with a new variety of Uddehika coinage bearing the legend *Sūyamitasu* and the word *Sudavapa* not noticed before. Another group of seven coins known for the first time is distinguished by the legend *Vapu* which have been assigned by

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit to the period between 250 and 50 B. C. The most important information is obtained from a seal which shows that the tribe of Mālavas well-known from other sources was in possession of a Janapada which they could claim as their homeland in the manner of the other tribes such as Śibis etc.

The report on the excavations at Rairh by Dr. K. N. Puri which has just come out contains a detailed analysis of the contents of the four punch-marked hoards from Rairh consisting of 3075 silver coins. It is evident from the excellent plates that the coins of classes II and VI are most predominant in the composition of these hoards which strongly supports their attribution to the Mauryan period.

The comprehensive paper of Dr. Birbal Sahni embodying an elaborate and careful study of the technique of casting coin-moulds in ancient India is being published as a Memoir of the Archæological Department. I am glad that through the kindness of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India, an arrangement has been reached, by which it will be possible to make copies available to members of the Society at very favourable terms. I must express here our gratitude to Dr. Sahni, whose own sphere of work lies in the Department of Palæo-Botany, but who was able to spare so much of his valuable time in getting up a work of such intrinsic quality. I have no hesitation in saying that he has done full justice to the archæological material in the form of coin-moulds found by him through the chance discovery of what may be regarded as a mint of the Yaudheya republic. The Memoir is sure to focus attention on this vital aspect connected with Indian coinage and will prove immensely helpful in the correct appraisal of the value of such material deposited in other museums. Let me hope that similar work will be accomplished in respect of the material discovered at Kadkal, in the Hyderabad State in 1936-37, where a mint was found with furnaces, slag and terracotta moulds used in the manufacture of coins representing different stages in the process of casting.

It is well known to the numismatists that the Hindu coinage of the various dynasties of mediaeval India from the post-Harsha period to the coming of the Muhammadans is a subject full of difficulties. It is, therefore, deserving of special mention that Prof. V. V. Mirashi of Nagpur University has published in our Journal a comprehensive study of the coins of the Kalachuri kings, incorporating all the available material on the subject. It is to serve as a part of his bigger Corpus on the Chedi inscriptions. It is desirable that work on similar lines in respect of other series of the above period should be pushed forward by other scholars with a view

ultimately to facilitate the production of a complete Corpus of the Hindu coins of mediaeval India.

In a survey of numismatic writings I should also like to refer to the fact that the weight and relative values of coins, their appreciation and depreciation have played not an insignificant role in the vicissitudes of political history. In a paper read before the recent Conference of the Institute of Statistics, U. P., Professor Radhakamal Mukerji has shown that from Akbar to Aurangzeb there had been great depreciation of the value of the silver coin. With the relative depreciation in the value of silver in terms of copper, the real burden of the revenue demand which was assessed in copper but paid mainly in silver, considerably increased. Aurangzeb attempted to face the situation by passing a decree that rupees, whose intrinsic value was less than annas eight, should pass current as full weight rupees and also by reducing the weight of common copper coins. The depreciation of the value of silver from 40 to 30 *damas* and the increase of the burden for the majority of the population, coupled with currency debasement and confusion introduced by Aurangzeb have been adduced by Dr. Mukerji as economic causes contributing to the downfall of the Mughal Empire. During the Mughal regime copper was not the token coin as at present. Both silver and copper were permitted to find their market ratios causing disturbance to the course of trade and prices and to economic relations in general. An investigation of the weight of coins, and their respective values in terms of one another as well as of their circulation in different regions cannot be disregarded in the study of history.

Let me now take particular notice of the Society's work during the year. With a view to expedite publication of the results of numismatic researches the Society has arranged to publish its Journal twice a year. The first part of Vol. III covering 72 pages has already appeared and the second part will be out before long. In this connection, I wish to record my grateful thanks to the learned editors Dr. A. S. Altekar and Mr. R. G. Gyani who have taken pains to keep up the high standard. To Dr. V. S. Agrawala I am indebted for several ways in the work of the Society.

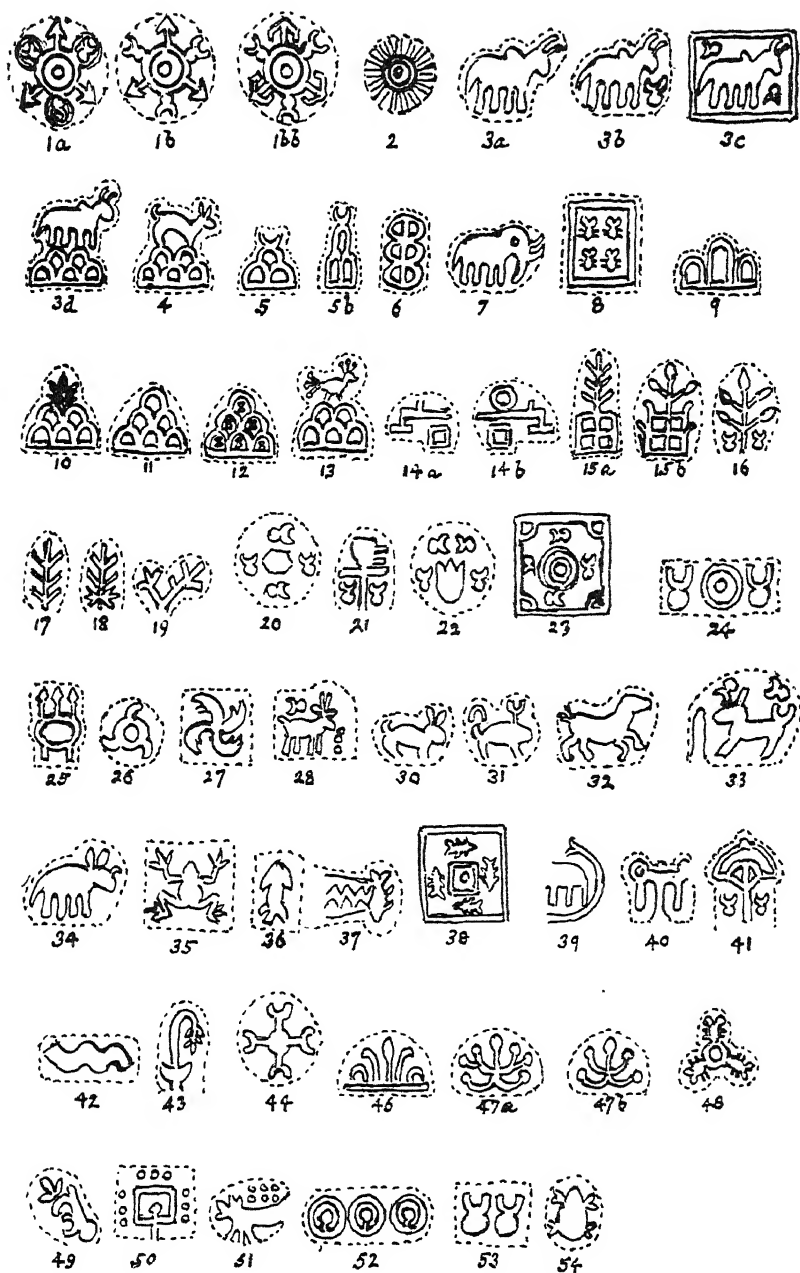
The publication of the Journal and the arrangement to secure copies of the Memoir containing Dr. Birbal Sahni's paper referred to above have necessitated extra expenditure. The expanding activities of the Society have justified its claim for financial support from new quarters. I am glad to say that the U. P. Government kindly sanctioned a grant of Rs. 300/- in 1940-41 and have been pleased to extend it for 1941-42 also. The Bombay Government have also kindly communi-

cated their decision for a recurring grant of Rs. 300/- from 1942-43. It is expected that the Government of India and other Provincial Governments will recognize the wide utility of the Numismatic Society of India by providing annual grants in furtherance of the objects and activities of the Society.

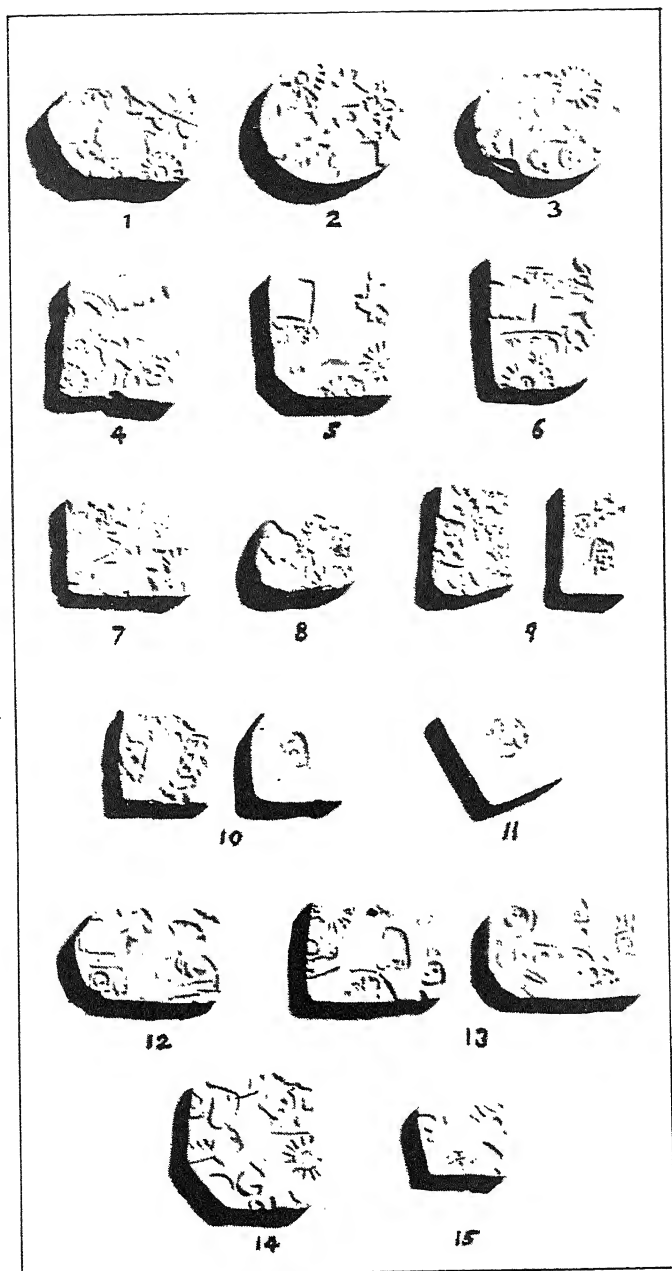
In conclusion, I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India, whose interest in the welfare of the Society is greatly responsible for its sustained good work and whose guidance has proved so valuable in the discharge of my duties. I should also thank other co-workers who have given me sincere cooperation during my long association with the Society.

It is my earnest prayer that the Society may continue to grow in future from strength to strength and may attract enthusiastic scholars of the new generation for advancing the cause of numismatic research in India.

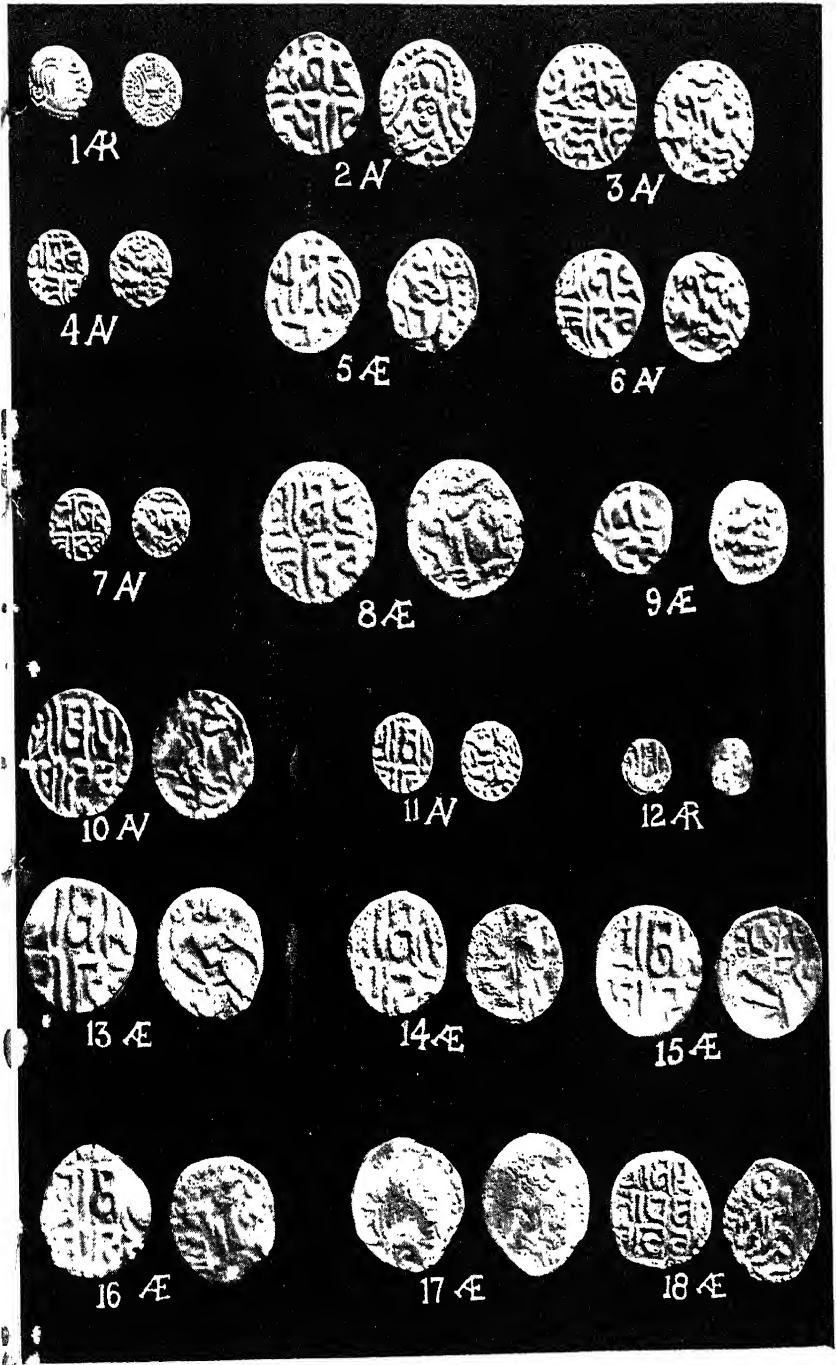
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Obverse Marks on the Punch-marked coins from U.P.

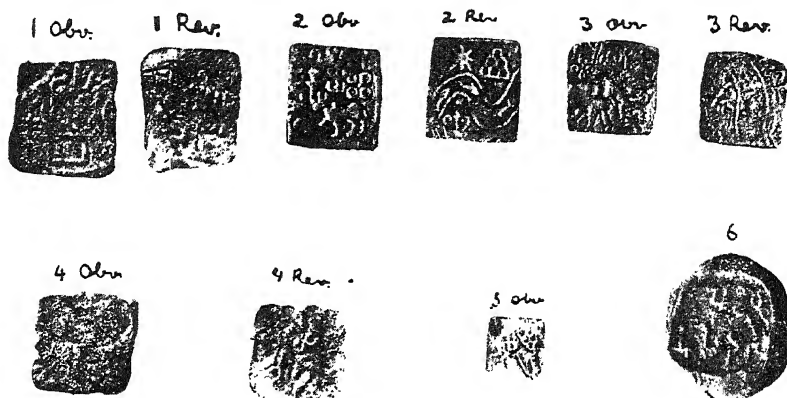


Punch-marked coins from U. P.
 Older Type, Nos. 1-7, and 12-14.
 Later Type, Nos. 8, 9-11, and 15.



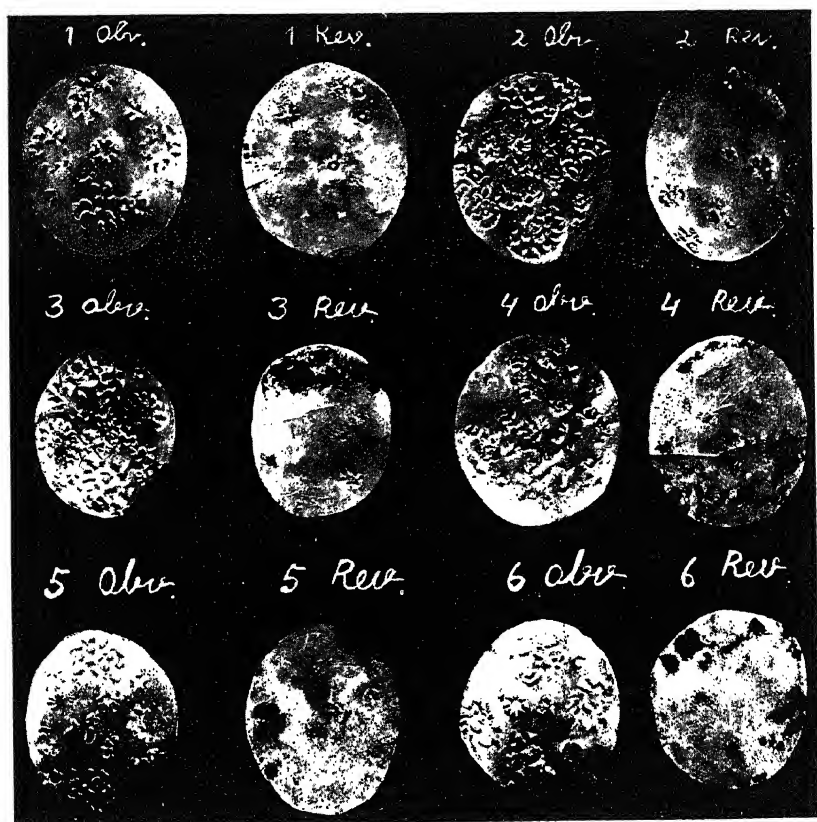
The Coins of the Kalachuris

A

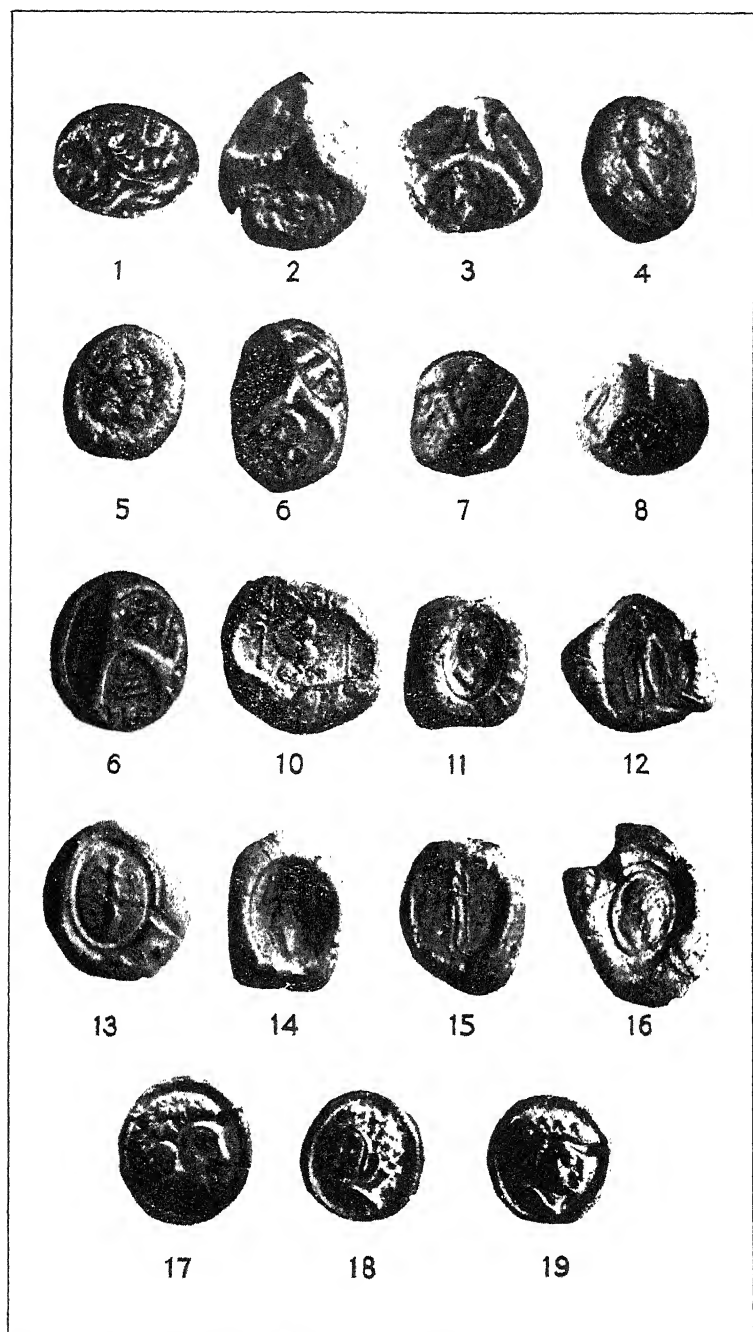


Coins and Mālava seal from Rairh

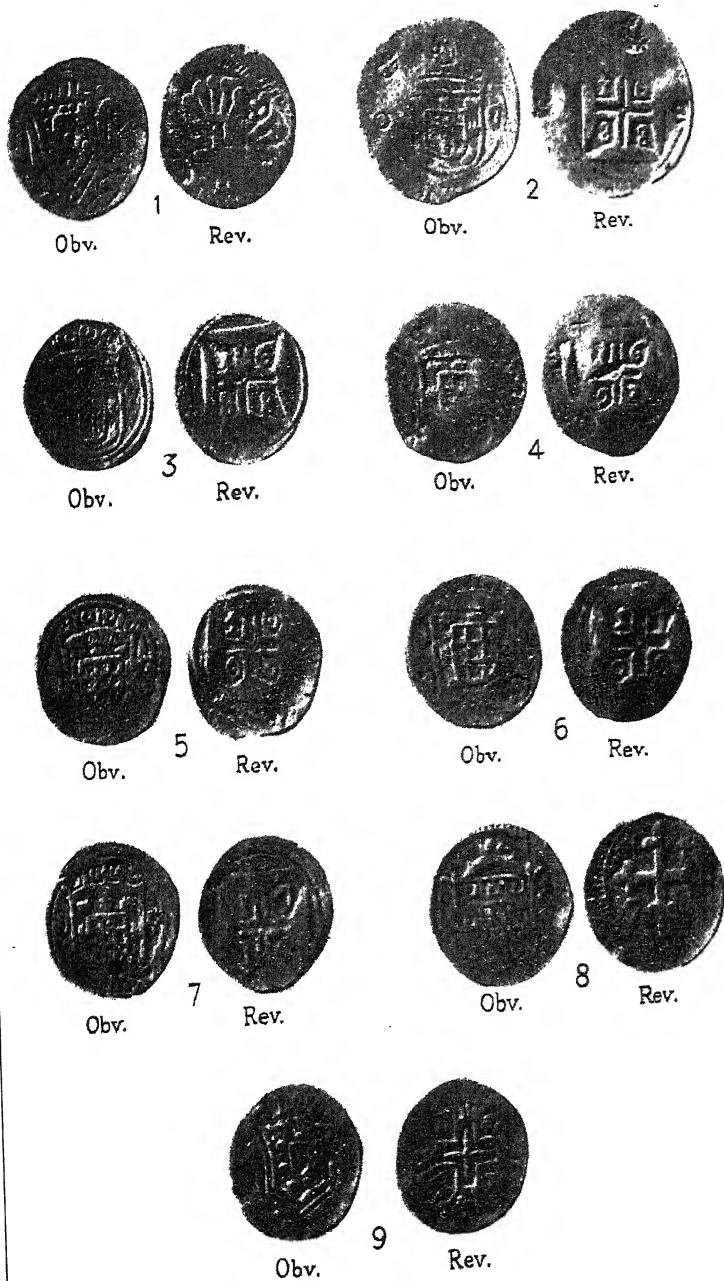
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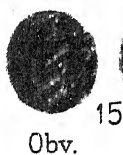
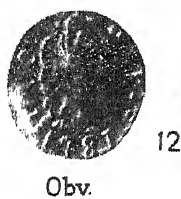
A new type of Punch-marked coins



Seals from Rajghat, Benares.



Indo-Portuguese Coins.



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Vol. IV

1942

Joint Editors :

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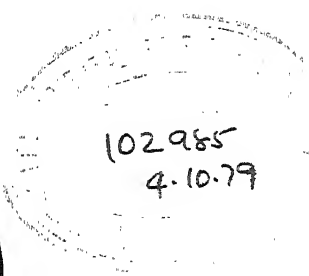
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CORRIGENDA

- Vol. IV page 68 11th line instead of شاه تهمتن read — بهمشاه
- „ „ „ „ 14th line below Reverse in Circle
instead of شاه تهمتن read بهمشاه
- „ „ „ „ Last line: Add at the end, 'are correct.'
- „ „ „ 120 line 2: Read Pl. VIII for Pl. X.
- „ „ „ „ line 29 „ Pl. VII for Pl. I.

NEW KINGS AND INTERESTING COIN TYPES FROM KAUSAMBI.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The new or interesting coins that are being published in this and the following seven papers of mine all belong to the extensive and priceless collection of Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas, M. A., LL. B., Executive Officer of the Allahabad Municipality. Rai Bahadur Vyas was kind enough to invite me to see, examine and assort his collection and to permit me to publish such coins as may be worth publishing in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. He afforded me all facilities to study his coins and to take their photographs. I had briefly referred to the discoveries I had made in his collection in the last number of this Journal on pp. 127-8. Some of the remarks made in that note require slight modifications in the light of further study and examination, as will be seen from these papers. I would however draw particular attention to one statement made there which subsequent cleansing of the coin concerned has shown to be wrong. I had referred to a new Gupta copper coin 'with a rather indistinct legend which seems to read Vanugupta'. When the coin was subjected to a thorough scientific cleansing, the legend appeared to be distinctly Chandrag[upta]. This coin therefore is not being published.

It will be seen from this and the following seven papers that the valuable collection of R. B. Vyas has brought to light nine new kings ruling at Kauśāmbī, viz. Vavaghosha, Rādhāmītra, Prajāpatimītra, Rājāmītra, Suramītra, Varuṇāmītra, Rājanimītra, Śatamagha and Vijayamagha. It also reveals the existence of four other rulers who were ruling in the Gangetic plain or Central India, viz., Vaṅgapāla of Ahichchhatrā, Yajñapāla of the Pañchāla series, Aśadatta and Madavika, whose kingdoms cannot be definitely identified. Several interesting new types of old kings have also been found, which throw considerable light on the numismatics and political history of the period. The Malava types of the Āndhra or Sātavāhana coins that are being now published are undoubtedly much better preserved than those in the British Museum.

If a large number of new kings will rise for the first time on the horizon of the political history of ancient India with the publication of this number of our Journal, the credit for it must be mainly given to the unbounded zeal of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas in collecting old 'antiquities, but for which these

coins would never have come to light. I would like to express to him my indebtedness and the indebtedness of the numismatic world for the valuable work he is doing as a coin collector. I am obliged to Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, and to Mr. K. P. Nigam, his assistant, for preparing the casts of the coins for photographs, which have been used for the accompanying plates. The weights of the coins have been carefully ascertained by my son Mukund Anant Altekar, a student of the College of Science, Benares Hindu University.

SECTION A.

COINS OF NINE NEW KINGS.

A COIN OF VAVAGHOSHA,
A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI.

Metal, copper.

Size, roughly circular ; diameter, .8".

Weight, 52.8 grains.

Provenance, Mathura.

Die-struck.

Obverse. In square incuse,

above, three symbols ; the first one is *Svastika* ; the second one, partly blurred, was probably Ujjayinī symbol ; the third one, also partly blurred, seems to have been taurine laid on its side.

Below, the legend, *Vavaghosa* (*Vavaghosha*) in characters of about 200 B. C.

Reverse. Above, bull ; to its south-west, taurine symbol.

Below, tree within railing.

Pl. I, r.

King Vavaghosha is not so far known to us from coins, inscriptions or literature. It is therefore not easy to fix his time or determine his dominion. The palæography of the legend shows a striking resemblance to that of the inscriptions of Aśoka ; Vavaghosha must therefore have ruled sometime at about 200 B. C. It is more difficult to determine the kingdom over which he was ruling. Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas acquired the coin at Mathura and there are some indications to suggest that king Vavaghosha may have been one of the early rulers of that city. Some of the symbols on his coin recur on the coins of kings Gomitra I and Gomitra II of Mathura, who have been assigned by Mr. Allan to c. 220-150 B. C.¹ Taurine laid on its side and tree within railing appear on one variety of the coins of Gomitra I². Ujjayinī symbol

1. Allan, *The Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 169-70.

2. *Ibid*, Pl. XXIV, No. 21.

and bull occur either singly or jointly on the coins of Gomitra II¹. Copper coins do not usually travel long and it is therefore possible to suggest that Vavaghosha may have been a king of Mathura ruling sometime during the interval of the reigns of Gomitra I and Gomitra II, say at c. 200 B. C.

This view, though possible, does not seem to be probable. Some of the symbols on the present coin no doubt recur, as pointed out above, on the coins of Gomitra I and Gomitra II, but they appear there in conjunction with many other symbols, which are peculiarly characteristic of the Mathura series and which are absent on this coin of king Vavaghosha. Such, for instance, is the case with Lakshmī standing and three elephants with riders, which appear on the coins of Gomitra I and Gomitra II, as also on the coins of many of the Indian rulers of Mathura. These symbols however do not appear on the present coin of Vavaghoshā. If he was a king of Mathura more or less contemporaneous with Gomitra I or Gomitra II, we cannot understand why he should have omitted the most characteristic symbols of his dynasty and selected the unimportant ones only for his coinage. A *ghosha*-ending name is also foreign to the nomenclature of the Mathura series of kings.

Among the Audumbara kings, there is one named Dhara-ghosha, whose coins have been found with legends in two scripts. None of the important symbols on the coins of the Audumbaras like the two storeyed temple, the forepart of the elephant, the trident etc., appear on the coin of Vavaghosha. It is therefore not at all likely that he was an Audumbara king.

It is most likely that Vavaghosha was a king of Kauśāmbī. Ujjayinī symbol and *Svastika*, which appear on the obverse of the coin of Vavaghosha, are to be seen on the reverse of the well-known large and uninscribed Kauśāmbī coins, cast from moulds, which have been assigned by Mr. Allan to c. 3rd century B. C.² Bull and tree within railing appear on almost all coins issued from Kauśāmbī. Four of the five symbols on the present coin, viz., bull to left, tree within railing, Ujjayinī symbol and taurine appear on the coins of king Jethamitra of Kauśāmbī³. It is therefore very likely that though the present coin was found at Mathura, its issuer, Vavaghosha, was a ruler of Kauśāmbī.

It is interesting to note that we have a king at Kauśāmbī with a *ghosha*-ending name, viz. Aśvaghosha. The palæography of the legend of his coins suggests that he ruled late in the 2nd century B. C.; the palæography of the present coin indicates that it was issued towards the end of the 3rd century

1. Allan, Pl. XXV, No. 1, Pl. XLV, No. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 154, Nos. 35-7.

B. C. It would therefore appear that king Vavaghosha was an ancestor of king Aśvaghosha of Kauśāmbī and flourished in c. 200 B. C. Probably he has to be placed before kings Parvata, Brihaspatimitra I and Sudeva (?), who have been placed in the 2nd century B. C.¹

The acquisition of the coin at Mathura need not go against the view that Vavaghosha was a king of Kauśāmbī. Mathura is a well known mart for ancient coins, whose dealers possess coins of even distant localities. It is also possible that the dominions of Vavaghosha may have included Mathura, for it is only about 250 miles from Kauśāmbī.

I am unable to ascertain the significance or the derivation of the name Vavaghosha. It may however be pointed out that *ghosha*-ending names were quite common in Madhyadeśa during the century or two preceding and following the Christian era. Āmohinī, who had set up a stone slab at Mathura during the reign of Śoḍāsa, had given *ghosha*-ending names to all her three sons, viz., Pālāghosha, Poḍhaghosha and Dhana-ghosha². Aśvaghosha was the name of one of the successors of Vavaghosha at Kauśāmbī.

A COIN OF RADHAMITRA, A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI.

Metal, copper.

Size, oblong and irregular, .74" x .6".

Weight, 36.5 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Cast.

Obverse. Lion couchant.

Above the lion, the legend *Rādhamitasa*.

Reverse. Faint traces of bull standing to right ; in its front, in an incuse three arched hill surmounted by *Nandīpāda*.

Pl. 1, 2.

Remarks. The letters *Rādhamitasa* are quite distinct on the coin. On the plate, the medial *ā* mark of *rā* and *mitasa* are fairly clear, while *ḍha* looks like a dot.

The coin was found at Kauśāmbī ; the bull on its reverse is common on the coins issued from the place. The symbol in its front is a slight modification of the symbol appearing before the bull on the coins of Brihaspatimitra II and Agni-mitra of Kauśāmbī³. Lion couchant is however so far quite unknown on the coinage of this city. The evidence as a whole may therefore be taken as indicating that *Rādhamitra*

1. Allan, p. 150.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 199.

3. Allan, pp. 151 and 153.

was a king of Kuaśāmbī. The palæography of the legend would show that he was ruling in the 2nd century B. C. The fabric of the coin, its being cast from mould and the small place allotted to the legend suggesting its introduction in recent times, would also point to the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. as the probable time of its issue.

A COIN OF SURAMITRA, A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI.

Metal, copper.

Size, circular, diameter, .7".

Weight, 88.5 grains.

Provenance, Kuaśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Tree within railing ; at the upper right hand corner, Ujjayinī symbol, below it, a wavy line. To left, a symbol obliterated ; below, the legend *Suramita*[sa].

Reverse. Bull to right ; a blurred symbol in its front.

Pl. 1, 3 (original size).

Pl. 1, 4 (enlarged size, obverse only).

The letters *Sura* are blackened in the photo of the coin in the original size (Pl. 1, 3) ; they have come out clearly in the enlarged photograph (Pl. 1, 4). What appears as the remnant of a letter to the left of *su* is merely encrustation.

The king Suramitra of the present coin was also a ruler of Kausāmbī. This conclusion becomes almost inevitable when it is noted that the coin was found at Kausāmbī and bears tree within railing on the obverse and bull on the reverse. The Ujjayinī symbol and the wavy line that appear on the present coin are not unknown to the Kausāmbī coinage ; see, for instance, the coins of Brihaśpatimitra I and II illustrated by Mr. Allan on Pl. XX, Nos. 1-3.

It may however be pointed out that tree within railing and Ujjayinī symbol appear on the obverse of the coins of Brahnamitra, which have been doubtfully attributed to Kanauj by Mr. Allan.¹ It is therefore not impossible that king Suramitra may have belonged to Kanauj. The attribution of Brahnamitra to Kanauj is in itself not certain ; we may therefore assign king Suramitra to Kausāmbī till more evidence becomes available to contest this view.

The time of the ruler cannot be definitely fixed. He flourished probably sometime in the first century B. C. soon after Brihaspatimitra II.

1. Allan, p. 147.

**A COIN OF VARUNAMITRA,
A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBĪ.**

Metal, copper.

Size, round, diameter, .45".

Weight, 19.8 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Above, tree within railing, railing only visible ; to its left, a straight and a wavy line, clear in the original, but blurred in the plate.

Legend below in a straight line, *Varunamita[sa]*.

Left horn of *ma* is blurred.

Pl. I, 5.

Reverse. Bull to right, blurred.

In recent excavations at Ramnagar (ancient Ahichchhatrā), coins of a king named Varunamitra have been found, which are yet to be published. They bear the Pañchāla symbols on the obverse,¹ and so their issuer belonged to the Pañchāla series of rulers. Varunamitra of the present coin must be distinguished from the Pañchāla Varunamitra, for the present coin has none of the usual Pañchāla symbols. It is possible to argue that one and the same Varunamitra may have issued two different types in two different localities of his kingdom in conformity with local numismatic practice. I do not however think that such was the case. The provenance of the present coin is unknown, but its symbols, tree within railing, wavy line and bull on the reverse establish its clear connection with the Kauśāmbī mint.

In the Allahabad Municipal Museum there is a fragmentary inscription referring to a king Varunamitra, which was discovered by Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas at Kauśāmbī. The extant portion of the inscription reads as follows :—

*Rājño Gotiputasa Varunmitasa putasa Rājño Kohaḍi (?)
putasa putteṇa...*²

The characters of our present coin resemble those of this inscription and may be ascribed to about the 1st century B. C. We may therefore identify Varunamitra of our coin with king Varunamitra Gotiputra mentioned in the above fragmentary Kauśāmbī inscription and place him in the first half of the 1st century B. C. King Visadeva Gāgīputa, mentioned in Bharhut inscription No. 1 had a son named Gotīputa Agarāja.³ Whether (Gotiputa) Varunamitra of our coin was a brother of Gotīputa Agarāja of Bharhut must be left as an open question. Gotīputa could well have been the appellation of princes, having

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. III, p. 79, note 1.

2. *I. C.*, Vol. I, p. 692.

3. Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 126.

no blood relationship at all, if their mothers had belonged to the Goti family or *gotra*. On the other hand, when we note that Bharhut and Kośāmbī are fairly close to each other, the possibility cannot be ruled out of these two places being under the rule of two brothers, Gotiputa Varuṇamitra and Gotiputa Agaraja. Palæography will not stand in the way of their being contemporaries.

A COIN OF PRAJAPATIMITRA.

A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI.

Metal, Copper.

Size, irregularly round, diameter, .7".

Weight, 123.5 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Tree within railing in the centre; to left, perhaps a portion of Ujjayinī symbol; to right, perhaps a symbol, obliterated.
Circular legend, (IX-III), *Pajāpati* [*mitasa*].

Reverse. Bull to right; in its front is a symbol consisting of a three arched hill on a platform resembling the railing of a tree. This symbol may be incomplete at the top and may have had a *Nandīpāda* above it. In that case it would be almost similar to the symbol appearing in front of the bull on the reverse of the coins of Rādhamitra, **Pl. I, 2** above, and of Brihaspatimitra II of Kauśāmbī.¹

Pl. I, 6.

Remarks: On the plate, the first letter of the legend looks like a *śha*, but it is distinctly *pu* on the coin. The medial *ā* mark of *jā*, which is attached to the central bar of the letter, is quite distinct on the coin. Being in low relief, it has not come out in the cast and so in the photograph. Faint traces of the letter *mi* can be seen on the plate. Letters *tasa* could not come on the coin probably on account of its irregular shape at the place where they would have appeared.

The coin was found at Kauśāmbī and its symbols are those which are usually found on the coins of the rulers, who issued coins from that city during the first and second centuries B. C. The grouping of the symbols is similar to that on the coins of Brihaspatimitra II of Kauśāmbī.¹ It is therefore practically certain that Prajāpatimitra of our coin was a king of Kauśāmbī. We have other kings at Kauśāmbī at this time like Brihaspatimitra I, Brihaspatimitra II, Jyeshthamitra and

1. Allan, p. 151,

Agnimitra, who have *mītra*-ending epithets. Prajāpatimitra probably belonged to the same group.

Palæography, which is rather a dubious guide in the case of badly executed coins like the present one, is the only means of determining the time of Prajāpatimitra. The group of kings, above referred to, to which he belonged, is usually placed some time in the first century B. C. or a little later.¹ The characters on the present coin look later than those on the coins of the above kings; I am therefore inclined to place Prajāpatimitra after Jyeshthamitra in c. 25 A. D.

A coin of king Prajāpatimitra has been published in the last number of this Journal by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. That coin however belonged to the Pañchāla series; the present coin has no Pañchāla symbols at all. Prajāpatimitra of the present coin has therefore to be differentiated from Prajāpatimitra of the Pañchāla series, unless we suppose that the same king issued different types in different parts of his kingdom.

COINS OF RAJAMITRA, A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI

I found three coins of Rājamitra in the collection of Rai Bahadur Vyas. Of these two, which are larger in size, are cast, while the remaining one, which is smaller, is die-struck.

Larger Type.
Metal, Copper.
Size, circular, diameter, '65".
Weight, 112·6 grains.
Provenance, Ahichchhatrā (Ramnagar).
Cast.

Obverse. In the centre, tree within railing with branches on either side; one symbol on either side of the tree is obliterated.

Circular legend, (VII-III), *Rājamītaśa*. **Pl. I, 7.**
N. B. On the other coin of this variety, which weighs 76·8 grains, the tree within railing appears like a *yūpa*, with its top curving to right. The legend is *Rāja* only in straight line, *rā* partly coalescing with the edge at VII.

Pl. I, 8.

Reverse. Bull to right; in its front a symbol similar to that before the bull on the coin of Prajāpatimitra, **Pl. I, 6** above.

Remarks:—The letters *taśa*, which are rather blurred in **Pl. I, 7** are quite clear in the original. They do not occur on **Pl. I, 8**.

1. Allan, p. 153.

These coins were no doubt found in the Ramnagar area, but they do not bear any similarity to the Pañchāla series. The peculiar Pañchāla symbols are absent. On the other hand tree within railing on the obverse and bull and the peculiar symbol in its front on the reverse establish the affiliation of these coins to the Kauśāmbī series. The symbol before bull is similar to that occurring on the reverse on the coins of Bṛihaspatimitra II of Kauśāmbī and of Prajāpatimitra, whose coin has been illustrated above. We may therefore assume that Rājāmitra was a king of Kauśāmbī. Ramnagar is only 200 miles from Kauśāmbī and copper coins could have easily migrated over that distance. Both Kauśāmbī and Ramnagar were important capitals and there must have been brisk intercourse between them. The palæography and symbols would suggest that Rājāmitra could not have been far removed in time from Prajāpatimitra. I would like to place him in the first half of the 1st Century, A.D.

Smaller type.

Metal, copper.

Size, round, diameter, .55".

Weight, 32.8 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Tree within railing, in its front to right, blurred symbol.

Legend below; *Rāja[mitasa]*.

Pl. I, 9.

Reverse. Blurred.

The first letter shows at its base a horizontal line to its left, and so to some extent, appears like a *vā* also. On the original coin however the horizontal line is disconnected from the vertical and so the letter should be read as a *rā* rather than a *vā*. What I have described as a blurred symbol in front of the tree within railing bears some resemblance to traces of letters blurred. On a careful examination of the original coin, I have come to the tentative conclusion that there was a symbol there and not letters. The question whether king Rājāmitra of this coin is identical with his namesake of the two earlier coins cannot be decided with positive certainty at present. The probability however is that the two Rājāmitras were identical, the present coin being a different type of the same ruler. If we accept the doubtful reading *Vājāmitra* and correct it into *Vajāmitra*, standing for *Vajramitra*, it is possible to suggest that the present coin may be an issue of *Vajramitra*, the eighth king of the Suṅga dynasty according to *Purāṇas*. I do not however think it to be a plausible view.

**A COIN OF RAJANIMITRA
A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI.**

Metal, copper.

Size, round, diameter, .6".

Weight, 32.8 grains.

Provenance, Ahichchhatrā (Ramnagar
area).

Die-struck.

Obverse. Tree within railing in the upper half ;
circular legend below, (IX-III), *Rajanim[ītaśa]*.

Pl. I, 10

Reverse. Bull to right.

The symbols on the coin, tree within railing and bull, make it quite clear that though found near Ramnagar, it was issued from Kauśāmbī. The name of the king is rather peculiar, because so far among the *mitra*-ending names, we have not come across one, where the first part is the name of a female. The reading is however quite clear on the original coin ; letters *raja* are quite clear on the plate also, and *na* can be inferred from the perpendicular stroke following them. The medial *i* mark of *nī* is fairly clear on the original. The fourth letter, which is rather darkened in the plate, looks like a clear *ma* on the coin. It is followed by a short vertical line, which seems to be the upper part of *ta*. I therefore read the name as Rajanimitra, though this is rather an unusual name.

The tree within railing of the present coin is similar to that on the coin with the legend *navasa*¹, which are usually placed in the 2nd or the 3rd century A. D. The palæography of the legend also will point to the same time. Rajanimitra may perhaps have been one of the near predecessor of the king who issued the coins with the legend *navasa*.

**A COIN OF SATAMAGHA,
A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI.**

Metal, copper.

Size, round, diameter, .6".

Weight, 67.1 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī

Die-struck.

Obverse. In square incuse, above, tree within railing laid on its side ; below the legend *Sata [magha]*,
magha being blurred.

Pl. I, 11.

Reverse. Blurred.

1. *I. M. C.*, Vol. I, Pl. XXIII, nos. 15 and 16.
Allan, Pl. XXI, No. 4.

In this Journal, Dr. Motichand has published the coins of a number of later kings of Kauśāmbī represented in the Fatehpur hoard.¹ The kings brought to light by that hoard were Bhādrāmagha, Śivāmagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman. The present coin was found at Kauśāmbī and its type is similar to that of the coins in the Fatehpur hoard. It is therefore clear that Śatāmagha belonged to the same group of 'Magha' kings, whose coins were found at Fatehpur and who ruled at Kauśāmbī during the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A.D. The palæography of the present coin also places its issuer at about the same time.

COINS OF VIJAYAMAGHA, A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI.

In his list of Kauśāmbī coins, Mr. Allan refers to three coins, Nos. 68-70, which have bull to right on the reverse and tree within railing on the obverse along with a legend reading either *jayama* or *jaya*.² In the collection of Rai Bahadur B.M. Vyas, there are several coins of this type, the fragmentary letters on which can be combined into the name Vijayāmagha. I publish here two coins of this ruler, the fragmentary legends on which, when combined, give the complete name.

First Coin.

Metal, Copper.

Size, round diameter, .7".

Weight, 58.3 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Above, traces of tree within railing; below, legend [V]ijayama[gha] **Pl. I, 12.**

Reverse. Obliterated.

Second Coin.

Metal, Copper.

Size, round, diameter .7".

Weight, 73.8 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Above, traces of tree within railing; below, legend Vijaya[magha].

Pl. I, 13

Reverse. Bull to left.

On the first coin only the right hand portion of *vi* is visible; on the second coin the entire letter can be seen. *Ja* is quite clear on the second coin; only its upper portion can

1. *Ante*, Vol. II, pp. 95-108.

2. Allan, pp. 157-8.

be seen on the first. *Ya* is distinct on the first coin, but blurred on the second. The left hand portion of *ma* is quite distinct on the first coin, but blurred on the second. There can thus be no doubt that the full name of the king was Vijayamagha.

It would thus appear that the list of the 'Magha' kings is not yet complete. If the Meghas of south Kōśala mentioned in Purāṇas are identical with the 'Maghas' of Kauśāmbī, we may expect to discover some more kings of this series; for, according to Purāṇas, there were nine kings in the Megha dynasty.¹

SECTION B.

SOME INTERESTING COINS FROM KAUSĀMBĪ.

COUNTERSTRUCK KAUSAMBI COINS.

In the *Catalogue of Coins in Ancient India*, Mr. Allan has referred to and illustrated Kauśāmbī coins, counterstruck with the mark of a tree within railing and a *triśūla* respectively. This description in the *Catalogue* at p. 152 has been corrected by Mr. Allan in his Introduction at p. xcvi, where he states that the so-called *triśūla* is really a *Nandīpāda* symbol and the tree within railing is really a trough-headed standard. The coins in the collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas show that the first of these corrections is correct, but not the second. They show a clear *Nandīpāda* mark as also a distinct representation of a tree within railing. The British Museum possesses coins where only one of these symbols has been counterstruck; in the collection of Rai Bahadur Vyas, there is a coin where both these marks have been counterstruck. I shall now describe and illustrate a coin of each of these varieties.

COUNTERSTRUCK WITH THE NANDIPADA ONLY.

Metal, Copper.

Size, irregularly round, diameter .8".

Weight, 131.5 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. In square incuse, traces of tree within railing.

Reverse. Bull to right in the centre; in the lower right hand corner, *Nandīpāda* mark counterstruck in a deep incuse.

Pl. I, 14.

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kālī Age*, p. 51.

COUNTERSTRUCK WITH NANDIPADA AND TREE WITHIN RAILING.

Metal, copper.

Size, irregularly oval, .6" x .8".

Weight, 114.8 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Original symbols obliterated and the area counterstruck with tree within railing and *Nandīpāda* symbols probably at one and the same time.

Pl. I, 15.

Reverse. Bull to right.

The deliberate counterstriking of these coins would indicate a political revolution at Kauśāmbī. As the coins are blurred and the original legends obliterated, it is difficult to say who had originally issued them. They are similar in size to the coins of Brihaspatimitra II and Agnimitra and therefore Mr. Allan has suggested that they may have been the original issues of these rulers¹. These rulers flourished sometime in the 1st century B. C. Contemporaneously with them was ruling another dynasty of rulers, probably at Kanauj, of which three rulers, Brahnamitra, Sūryamitra and Vishṇumitra are so far known from coins². The coins of the last two rulers have tree within railing and those of Brahnamitra show a *Nandīpāda* symbol perched upon a pillar within railing. Is it possible that the restriking of these coins with these symbols may suggest a temporary defeat of some rulers of Kauśāmbī, probably Brihaspatimitra II and Agnimitra, at the hands of the neighbouring ruler, Brahnamitra of Kanauj? Until more evidence is available, we cannot aver anything with certainty.

While referring to this type in the section 'News and Notes' of the last number, I had stated that these Kauśāmbī coins were restruck by one or two Pañchāla symbols. One of the counterstruck symbols, tree within railing, can be described as the first of the Pañchāla symbols; but the other symbol is *Nandīpāda*, and not the third Pañchāla symbol (to which it bears close resemblance), as is made clear by the cleansing of these coins. I therefore do not now think that the restriking was done by any Pañchāla rulers.

A COPPER COIN OF KING ASVAGHOSHA.

Coins of king Aśvaghosha of Kauśāmbī are still very rare. The British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India publishes only one copper coin of this ruler, which is squarish round in shape. The symbols on this coin are indistinct,

1. Allan, pp. 151-2.

2. *Ibid* p. 147.

though its inscription is very clear. In 1934 Dr. Jayaswal published a silver coin of this ruler, round in shape, in the *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 8, Pl. II, No. 5. Its symbols were more distinct than those on the British Museum coin. The coin I am publishing today is the second copper coin of this ruler to come to light. It is smaller in size than the coin in the British Museum and its symbols are much clearer. Its legend however is less distinct.

Metal, copper.

Size, roughly round, diameter, .7".

Weight, 61.9 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Tree within railing; to left a lion standing about to jump. Below legend, [A]ś[va]gho[śhasa].

Reverse. Bull to right; in its front a blurred symbol, similar to the one before the bull on the coin of Prajāpatimitra, published above. **Pl. I, 16.**

Remarks. Only the upper portions of the letters *a* and *śva* can be seen on the coin. The medial *o* of *gho* has not come out. The animal by the side of the tree is quite indistinct in the British Museum specimen and so it is not described in Allan's Catalogue. It is quite distinct on the specimen published by Dr. Jayaswal. He says, 'The animal on the obverse is a horse, after the name of the king'. Both on the specimen of Dr. Jayaswal and on the present coin, the animal is shown as having a mane and its front feet are quite unlike those of a horse and resemble those of a lion. I therefore think that Aśvaghosha had not a horse on his coins, but rather a lion. The bull on the reverse of the present coin is much better preserved than the bull on the coin of Dr. Jayaswal or of the British Museum.

A COIN OF SUNGARAJA.

The question of the coinage of the Sunga dynasty is a very complicated one. I do not propose to discuss it here, but want to draw attention to a coin in the collection of R.B. B.M. Vyas, which bears the inscription *Sungarājasa* on the obverse. This is not the first coin with this inscription to be published. A coin with the identical inscription, now in the Patna Museum, has been published by Dr. Jayaswal in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 294-5 and Pl. II, No. 2. This coin was found at Kauśāmbī. The provenance of the present coin is not known, but very probably it also hails from Kauśāmbī area. A third coin of this type has been found, I understand, by Mr. Ajit Ghosh, M.A., also at Kauśāmbī, but has not been so far published. It is not stated in Dr. Jayaswal's paper whether the Patna Museum

coin of *Suṅgarāja* is of silver or copper. Unless more and better preserved coins of this type are published, the problems connected with it cannot be solved. I therefore publish here the coin in Rao Bahadur Vyas' collection.

Metal, copper.

Size, round, diameter, .5".

Weight, 66.3 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. In rectangular incuse, legend above, *Su[n]garājasa* ; below, some symbols (?).

Reverse. Faint traces of a bull to left.

Pl. I, 17.

The reading *Su[n]garājasa* is fairly clear both on the present coin, as also on the coin in the Patna Museum, published by Dr. Jayaswal. There is however something below this legend, which is not clear either on the present coin or on the coin in the Patna Museum. There are three possibilities. (1) There was a circular legend round the coin or (2) that it was in two straight lines one below the other, the letters following *Suṅgarājasa* giving the personal name of the *Suṅga* ruler who issued the coin. (3) Or what appears like the traces of letters below the legend *Suṅgarājasa* are some symbols, which have come out only partly on the coins and have been subsequently blurred. Unless we get better specimens of this type, it will be difficult to decide definitely in favour of any one of the above possibilities. The data available at present make it probable however that the third of the above alternatives would be the correct one.

There are two inscriptions at Bharhut which refer in a general way to the rule of the *Suṅgas* but not to that of any particular member of the dynasty. One of them, that on the *Batnāra* gateway pillar, is very fragmentary, only the words *Suganam raja* being preserved. The other, that on the pillar of the eastern gateway, runs as follows :—

- 1 सुगनं रजे राज्ञो गागीपुतस विसदेवस
- 2 पौतेण गोतीपुतस अगराजस पुतेण
- 3 बाह्यपुतेन धनभूतिना कारितं तौरणं¹.....

It would therefore appear that for some time after their usurpation of power, the *Suṅga* king or kings were known by their surname, rather than by their personal names. The same phenomenon was repeated later when the *Kushānas* rose to power in India. English rule for a fairly long time was known

as the rule of the Company Sarkar, and not as the rule of any particular king or directorate. There were further reasons for the Śuṅgas being known by their family surname, rather than by their personal names. Readings in some manuscripts of Purāṇas show that Pushyamitra had eight sons and ruled along with them for some time¹. If such was really the case, the rule of the new dynasty may have been in the initial stages better known as the rule of the Śuṅgas, rather than as the rule of any particular king, as several princes of the line were ruling simultaneously. Along with them were also ruling several local chiefs as feudatories, as is made clear by the Bharhut inscription quoted above. Coins therefore must consequently have been issued in the beginning with the simple legend Śuṅgarājaśa 'of the Śunga king'; coins with personal names may have been struck later. We may therefore place the coins with the legend Śuṅgarājaśa in the early period of the Śunga empire, c. 180-150 B. C; the palæography of the coin legend also points to the same date.

1. Of :—पुष्यमित्रसुताश्चाष्टौ भविष्यन्ति समा नृपाः । *Vāyu P.*

Pargiter does not accept this reading and corrects it as follows :—

पुष्यमित्रसुतश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः ।

The causal verb in the earlier verse,

पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीरुद्धस्य स बृहद्रथम् ।

कारयिष्यति वै राज्यं षट्त्रिंशति समा नृपः ॥

may suggest that Pushyamitra never became a *de jure* king but ruled through his eight sons perhaps to the end of his reign.

Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 31.

NOTES ON SOME NEW PAÑCHĀLA COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

In the last number of this Journal, while publishing a coin of a new Pañchāla king named Prajāpatimitra, Dr. V. S. Agrawala observed that the list of Pañchāla kings known so far was by no means complete. There is no doubt that such is the case, for in the collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas I found a coin of a new Pañchāla king, named Yajñapāla. I am publishing it here with the kind permission of R. B. Vyas.

A COIN OF YAJNAPALA, A NEW PANCHALA KING.

Metal, copper.

Size, roughly circular, diameter, .5".

Weight, 27 grains.

Provenance, Ahichchhatrā (Ramnagar area).

Die-struck.

Obverse. In square incuse,

above, the three usual Pañchāla symbols, of which only the central one is complete.

Below, the legend *Yajñapālasa*.

Reverse. A railing enclosing three pillar-like objects.

Pl. I, 18.

The third and the fourth letters of the legend, which have been read as *pāla* can also be read as *bala*, if we suppose that the horizontal line above the third letter is not standing for a medial *ā*, but is the upper line of the letter *ba*. *Yajñapāla* however is a more probable name than *Yajñabala*. In the Pañchāla series we have a king with a *pāla*-ending name in *Viśvapāla*, who is regarded as one of the early kings of the series.

The objects or the deities on the reverse of the Pañchāla coins are very often connected with the name of the king on the obverse. Thus on the reverse of the coins of *Sūryamitra*, there is the representation of the sun, and on that of *Agnimitra*, that of god fire. The reverse of the present coin is rather indistinct, but it closely resembles that of the coins of *Rudragupta*.¹ It is possible that the reverse of the present coin may have a connection with sacrifice, since the name of the king is *Yajñapāla*. Can the railing be that of a sacrificial

1. Allan, Pl. XXVII, No. 2.

pandal, the central object the representation of the flame of the sacrificial fire, the object to right, the sacrificer sitting and the one to left the sacrificial *yūpa* to which the animal was tied before its immolation? All these are mere conjectures, for the reverse is not sufficiently clear to enable us to come to a definite conclusion.

A NEW VARIETY OF PAÑCHĀLA COINAGE.

The present coin, which belongs to the cabinet of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas, is a very interesting unpublished variety of the Pañchāla series. There are several coins of this variety in the collection of R. B. Vyas.

Metal, copper.

Size, square, each side, .35".

Weight, 12.8 grains.

Provenance, Pañchāla i.e. Ramnagar Area.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Only the first of the three Pañchāla symbols, viz. tree in railing. No inscription below.

Reverse. Only the third of the Pañchāla symbols, the taurine with two hooks attached at the bottom to its either side, partly coalescing with the edge line below. No inscription.

Pl. I, 19.

The three Pañchāla symbols are usually seen occurring together on the obverse of the Pañchāla coins. The present coin is unique in having only one of the symbols on each side. It is also unique in having no legend. That it is a Pañchāla coin is clear; it was found in Pañchāla area and bears two of the Pañchāla symbols. It is very tiny in size and light in weight like the numerous light weight issues of Bhānumitra, whose weight varies from 12.5 to 14.5 grains. It seems that in the case of such tiny coins, where the three symbols and the name of the ruler could not be accommodated on one side, the mint masters were content with putting only one of the symbols on either side. The symbol may possibly have been connected with the name of the issuer, and so his name was not given. The mystery however cannot be solved until more data become available.

A COIN OF VAṄGAPĀLA, A KING OF AHICHCHHATRĀ.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The coin, which forms the subject of this paper, belongs to the valuable collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad. I am publishing it with his kind permission.

Metal, copper.

Size, roughly circular, diameter, .5".

Weight, 67.1 grains.

Provenance, Ahichchhatrā (Ramnagar)
area.

Cast.

Obverse. Above, a blurred symbol, probably, branch of tree. Below, the legend in a straight line,
[*Vaṅ*]gapālasa.

Pl. I, 20.

Reverse. Completely blurred.

Of the legend, the letters *gapāla* are quite clear on the plate. The verticle line of the letter following, which alone has been preserved, makes it clear that it must have been a *sa*. On the plate the first letter looks more like an *a* than a *va*; but that is due to protrusion of incrustation attaching to the vertical of the letter. On the coin itself a straight line with a broadening at the base is clear and therefore I take the initial letter to be *va* and read the name as *Vaṅgapāla*.

There is epigraphic evidence to show that there was a king named *Vaṅgapāla* ruling at *Ahichchhatrā*, where this coin was found, sometime during the 2nd century B.C., to which period the present coin belongs. Two inscriptions found at *Pabhosa* near *Kauśāmbī* throw important light on the time and locality of king *Vaṅgapāla*. I quote the relevant portion from them below.

First inscription

राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस बहसतिमित्रस मातुलेन गोपालीया वैहिदरीपुत्रेन
आसाढसेनेन लेनं कारितं [उदाकस] दसमे सवछरे

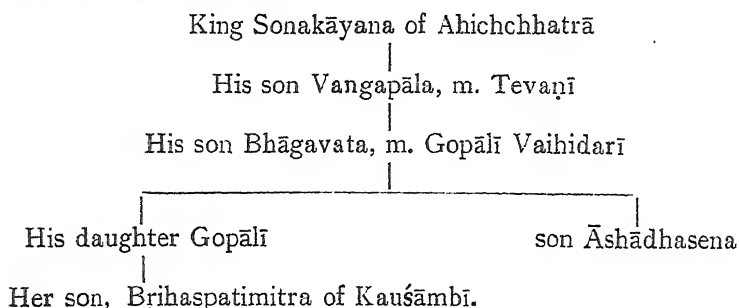
Second inscription.

अधिच्छत्राया राज्ञो सोनकायनपुत्रस्य वंगपालस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञो तेवणीपुत्रस्य
भागवतस्य पुत्रेण वैहिदरीपुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितं

Epi. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 240-1

By putting together the data of these two inscriptions, we get

the following genealogical tree, connecting the rulers of Ahichchhatrā with those of Kauśāmbī.



King Vaṅgapāla is expressly described in the second of the above inscriptions as a king of Ahichchhatrā, modern Rāmnagar, and the present coin was also discovered in the same area. We may therefore legitimately conclude that king Vaṅgapāla of our coin is identical with the homonymous ruler mentioned in the above record. The palæography of the coin legend points to the same date as suggested by the palæography of the inscription. It is not easy to state whether Brihaspatimitra of the inscription is to be identified with Brihaspatimitra I or Brihaspatimitra II. These two rulers were not however separated by more than about 50 years. Brihaspatimitra II is usually placed late in the second century B.C.¹ If Vaṅgapāla was his maternal grandfather, we shall have to place him sometime in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. On the other hand, if Vaṅgapāla was the grandfather of Brihaspatimitra I, we shall have to place him in. *c.* 220 B.C.

A coin bearing the name Tagapāla on one side and Damagupta on the other and showing Pañchāla symbols has been published in this Journal by Mr. M.B.L. Dar². Dr. V. S. Agrawala has stated recently that the reading Tagapāla has been corrected into Vaṅgapāla by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit.³ Since the coins of both Mr. M. B. L. Dar and Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas were found in the Ahichchhatrā area, it is very probable that the two Vaṅgapālas are identical. The present coin however shows no trace either of a *chakra*, or the Pañchāla symbols. Their appearance on the coin of Mr. Dar may perhaps suggest the overthrow of Vaṅgapāla by Damagupta, or vice versa. No definite opinion can however be hazarded in the present state of our knowledge.

1. Allan, p. 151.

2. *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 116.

3. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 79, note 1.

A COIN OF MADAVIKA
A NEW KING OR PEOPLE

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The present coin belongs to the valuable collection of Rai ahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad and is being pulished with s kind permission.

Metal, copper.

Size, irregularly round, diameter, .8".

Weight, 92.6 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Above, apparently very faint traces of a symbol obliterated.

Below, the legend in Aśokan characters,
Madavika.

Reverse. Tree within railing with five branches or leaves. The railing consists of four squares. To its left is a *v*-topped banner with three horizontal lines to its right. The staff of the banner has not come out on the coin. To the left of the tree, is a symbol like the Brāhmī letter *ma*. Below, apparently is a four arched hill.

Pl. II, 1.

Remarks. After the letter *vi* of the legend, there is the emnant of a letter which looks like a *ka*. The central bar of *ka* owever is shorter than what it usually is in the 3rd century B. C., to which period the other letters belong. It is however robable that the exigencies of space may have shortened the ngth of the central bar of *ka*. We may therefore read the egend as *Madavika*.

Madavi or Madavika either as the name of a person or a ribe or a people or a republic is not known to us from any ource whatsoever. Nor do we know the provenanee of the coin. Its attribution is therefore difficult to make. The symbols on the coin are the only guide in the matter. The group consisting of *ma*-shaped symbol, tree within railing and *v*-topped banner with two (and not three) horizontal lines to its right appears on some early uninscribed coins from Eran¹. The above group with the exception of the *ma*-shaped symbol appears on the coins of Brahnamitra and Sūryamitra, who

1. Allan, p. 140.

are believed to have ruled at Kanauj in the 2nd century B. C.¹ The *v*-topped symbol appears on some coins of Takshaśilā also, but it is there associated with quite a different group of symbols.² The grouping of symbols on the present coin will tend to show that it was issued somewhere in Eran-Kauśāmbī-Kanauj area and its palæography would suggest its time to be c. 200 B. C.

Whether Madavika was the name of a king or of a people or of a republic, we do not know.

1. Allan, p. 147.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

TWO COINS OF AJADATTA, A NEW KING IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

These two copper coins belong to the collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas, Allahabad, and are being published with his kind permission. They originally belonged to the late Babu Durga Prasad of Benares, from whom they were acquired by R. B. Vyas. The original provenance of the coins is unknown.

Metal, copper.

Size, circular, diameter, .8".

Weight, 69.2 grains of **Pl. II 2** and
59.8 of **Pl. I 3**.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. In the centre a cross, to the end of each arm of which is attached a symbol like the Aśokan letter *ma*, at right angle to the arms of the cross. The *ma* symbols are rather blurred in **Pl. II, 2** but fairly distinct in **Pl. II, 3**.

Circular legend, (XI-V), *Ajadatasa*.

The letter *a* is indistinct in the plate being much blurred, but it is quite distinct on each of the coins. The letter *da* is indistinct on **Pl. II, 2** but quite clear on **Pl. II, 3**.

Reverse. In the centre a man standing to left; tree within railing in his front, three arched hill with a circle and a crescent at the top to right. Two horizontal lines below. **Pl. II, 2**.

The reverse is rather blurred; so these objects can be seen only in faint outlines.

King Ajadatta is so far altogether unknown to us either from coins, or from inscriptions or from literature. The provenance of the coins is also unknown. It is therefore difficult to determine the time or the kingdom of Ajadatta. The palæography of the coin legend will show that Ajadatta belonged to the first century B. C. or A. D. As regards his kingdom some clue may perhaps be supplied by the central symbol on the obverse. A cross with the letter *ma* attached to the end of its arms at right angles to them does not appear on any other coin. A *Svastika* with a *ma* attached to it, however, appears on some coins of Ujjayinī.¹ It also figures

1. Allan, pp. 254-6.

on some coins of the Śibis,¹ who were ruling at Mādhyamikā near Chitor. It is therefore not improbable that king Ajadatta may have ruled somewhere in central India in the vicinity of Ujjayinī or Chitor.

Some rulers with the names ending in *datta* appear in the Mathura series, but our coin shows no affinity of type to the coins issued by the rulers of that locality.

King Ajaka is mentioned by Purāṇas as the last but one king of the Pradyota dynasty of Ujjayinī.² As the type of our coin bears a resemblance to some of the coins of Ujjayinī, it is possible to suggest that Ajadatta of our coins may be identical with Ajaka of the Pradyota dynasty. The palæography of our coins does not however point to the 5th or 4th century B. C. as its time. To identify Ajadatta with Ajaka would not be therefore possible and we have further to note that the name of the Pradyota king is spelt also as Rājaka, Janaka and Sūryaka in some manuscripts of the Purāṇas.³

A silver coin of a king named Ajadeva has been published by the late Dr. Jayaswal in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Society*, Vol. XX, p. 7. This coin also belonged to the collection of the late Babu Durga Prasad and had been presented by him to the Patna Museum. The symbols on the coin published by Dr. Jayaswal are identical with those on the present coin both as far as the obverse and the reverse are concerned. The Patna Museum coin being in silver, the symbols on the reverse, are more distinct than those on the present coin. The legend on the obverse of the coin in the Patna Museum however is not so clear as that on the present coins and was therefore wrongly read by Dr. Jayaswal as Ajadeva. The letter after *di* is however quite distinctly a *tu* in each one of the present coins. Therefore there can be no doubt that the name of the king was Ajadatta and not Ajadeva as Dr. Jayaswal had thought.

1. Allan, p. cxxiii and p. 121, no. 3.

2. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 68.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 68, n. 18.

SOME INTERESTING SĀTAVĀHANA COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The Catalogue of the Coins of the Āndhra (i. e. the Sātavāhana) Dynasty in the British Museum publishes some varieties of the Sātavāhana coinage current in Malava, which had been conquered by king Sātakarṇi of that dynasty. The coins published in this catalogue by Rapson are however very defective. Their legends are either fragmentary or illegible or blundered. The collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas contains a number of Sātavāhana coins current in Malava, which are better preserved than those published in the British Museum Catalogue. I am therefore publishing them here with his kind permission.

ELEPHANT TYPE OF SRI SATAKARNI, SQUARE.

Metal, copper.

Size, Roughly square, each side, '6".

Weight, 51.9 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. To left, tree within railing.

At the bottom, elephant with trunk upraised.

Above the elephant to right, *Svastika* symbol.

Legend at the top, s[ī]r[ī] Sātaka[nīsa.]

N. B. What looks like a letter in the extreme left is really a portion of the tree. *Ka* is in the extreme right.

Reverse. To left, tree in railing ;

in its front, a six-arched hill, partly obliterated ; below, undulating lines.

Pl. II, 4.

This coin is an unpublished variety of the Malava type of the Sātavāhana coinage. It is somewhat similar in type to the coin published by Rapson in the British Museum Catalogue on Pl. I, No. 5. Elephant, *Svastika* and tree within railing are common to both the coins. Our coin has not got the *Nandīpāda* symbol, as also the double line border with or without fish. It has a six-arched hill, which is absent on the coin in the British Museum. Only the last two letters, *nīsa*, of the legend *Sri Sātakanīsa* are legible on the coin published by Rapson ; on our coin the letters *Siri Sātaka* can be fairly made out. Its legend is therefore much better preserved. The size of our coin is also smaller than that of the coin in the British Museum.

THE ELEPHANT TYPE OF SRI SATAKARNI, RECTANGULAR.

Metal, copper.

Size, rectangular, .6" x .7".

Weight, 55.3 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Legend at the top, *raño Siri Sāta*[*kanisa*]
Below the legend, elephant with trunk upraised.
A *Svastika* between the legend and the elephant.

Reverse. To left, tree within railing;
to right, a partially obliterated symbol, which
in the original coin appears like a homo sign,
common on some types of the Ujjayinī
coinage.¹

Pl. II, 5.

This coin belongs to the same variety as the one preceding, but there are slight variations. Instead of the indistinct six-arched hill of the former, we have a homo sign. This would indicate a persistence of the influence of the earlier type prevailing in Malava, which had then been annexed recently to the Sātavāhana empire. The title *Raño*, absent in the legend on the square coin, can be clearly read on this coin. Both these coins are better preserved than those in the British Museum, as their legends are much more complete.

THE ELEPHANT TYPE OF SRI SATAKARNI, WITH NUMEROUS SYMBOLS.

Metal, copper.

Size, oblong, with a clipped corner,
.9" x .7".

Weight, 141 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. At the top, [*Si*]ri Sāta;
in the centre, a *v*-topped banner within railing;
to its right, a *Svastika* below and a symbol
above it, which looks like the conjunct *yya* in
early Brāhmī. To left, two indistinct symbols.

Reverse. Elephant walking right with trunk upraised;
above it, *Svastika* and Ujjayinī symbol.

Pl. II, 6.

A Sātavāhana coin from Malava, with elephant walking
to right, has been published in the British Museum Catalogue

1. Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India*, Pl. XXXVII, Nos. 6, 8, 19.

on Pl. I, No. 7. The legend on that coin is however quite indistinct and Rapson has conjectured that probably it was *Raño Siri Sātakaṇiṣa*.¹ On our present coin the letters *ri Sāta* are quite clear and so we can definitely state that the coin was issued by King Sātakarṇi, who is credited with having conquered Malava. The present coin differs from that in the British Museum in not having square border of dots on the reverse and in having numerous symbols on the obverse, of which *Svastika*, v-topped banner within railing and the peculiar symbol resembling the Brāhmī conjunct *yya* do not occur on the British Museum coin referred to above.

THE ELEPHANT TYPE OF SATAKARNI, ROUND.

Metal, copper.

Size, round, diameter, .9".

Weight, 211.8 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Elephant with trunk upraised walking to left ;
Svastika above it.

Circular legend, (X-II), *Sātakarṇi*.

Pl. II, 7.

Reverse. Faint traces of a tree within railing.

Elephant type of Sātavāhana coins, round in shape, have been published in the British Museum Catalogue, Pl. IV, Nos. 59-75. The elephant on these coins is walking right ; that on the present coin is walking left. Only two coins of the British Museum have the traces of a legend, and only two letters *raño* can be read on them. On our coin four letters, *Sātakarṇi*, are quite clear.

The letter *ta* of the legend appears much later than the same letter on the other coins discussed above. I would therefore attribute this coin to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who had conquered Malava from the Kshatrapas in the 2nd century A. D., and not to king Sātakarṇi, who had conquered it from the Śuṅgas about two hundred years earlier.

A SQUARE COIN OF THE LION TYPE.

Metal, copper.

Size, roughly square, each side, .8".

Weight, 120.2 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. *Svastika* in the centre ;
lion in the lower left corner ;
circular legend, (IX-V), *Raño Sirisātakaṇiṣa*.

1. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. 3.

Reverse. In dotted square border, clear on the coin but not visible on the plate, Ujjayinī Symbol.

Pl. II, 8.

The British Museum Catalogue has published three square Malava coins of the Lion type, Plate I, Nos. 8, 9, and 11. None of them has however the full legend. On the coins Nos. 8 and 11, only the letters *nisa* are visible; on the coin No. 9 the letters *sātakamini* are there, but they are reversed and blundered. Our coin is unique in having the full legend, completely legible and correctly inscribed. The letters *Raño si* are in the whitish portion in the upper left hand corner, *risāta* are in the upper right hand corner, *kani* are in the lower left hand corner and *sa* is just below the mouth of the lion. Unfortunately owing to a defect in the mould, lion does not look like a lion in the plate, but its upraised tail can be seen connecting itself with one of the arms of the *Svastika*. It is quite clear on the coin.

A NEW VARIETY OF THE MALAVA SATAVAHANA COINAGE.

THE HOMO TYPE.

Metal, copper.

Size, round, diameter, .85".

Weight, 129.7 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. A standing human figure in rough outlines in the centre; *Svastika* in right lower corner.

Circular legend, (IX-II), *Raño Sātasa*.

Reverse. Blurred, but traces of Ujjayinī symbol can be seen in the right side lower portion.

Pl. II, 9.

The homo sign is fairly common on early Ujjayinī coinage¹; but it appears here on this Sātavāhana coin as the prominent symbol on the obverse. Here, as on Pl. II, 5 above, we see the influence of the earlier coin type persisting on the coinage of the conquerer.

1. Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India*, Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. 6, 8, 9, 13.

SOME INTERESTING UNINSCRIBED COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The coins that I describe in this paper belong to the valuable collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas and are being published with his kind permission.

Coin No. 1.

Metal, copper.

Size, round, diameter, .55".

Weight, 41.5 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Cast.

Obverse. Three symbols like the Brāhmī letter *va* of the Aśokan period, joined together by a horizontal line.

Pl. II, 10.

Reverse. Blank.

Each of the symbols looks like a *va*. We cannot however read them as *vavava*, because letters were not joined together by a horizontal line during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. It is possible to read them as *vāvāvā* taking the horizontal line as the sign for medial *ā*. We must however note that two successive letters with medial *ā* were not joined together to each other so closely as is the case on the present coin. *Vāvāvā* does not also make any sense. If the central symbol was absent, it would have been possible to describe the object as a pair of scales. As it is, it is difficult for me to explain the symbols or the legend on the coin. I hope that some numismatist will come forward with the real explanation of the coin symbols or legend.

Coin No. 2.

Metal, copper.

Size, round, diameter, .35".

Weight, 28.6 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Above, Ujjayinī symbol ;
below, bull.

Pl. II, 11.

Reverse. Blank, or completely obliterated.

As the coin was found at Kauśāmbī, and as the early uninscribed coins of the place often have bull and Ujjayinī

symbol as common symbols, we may ascribe this type to that city. This coin will then show that along with large cast coins, small die-struck coins were also being issued by the Kauśāmbī authorities to facilitate smaller transactions. One of the coins of Brihaspatimitra II has only the same two symbols, which appear on the present coin, and in the same relative position.¹ We may therefore tentatively suggest that the present coin is an uninscribed issue of Brihaspatimitra II.

Coin No. 3.

Metal, copper.

Size, rectangular, .7" x .55".

Weight, 75.1 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Die-struck.

Obverse. A dog before a *v*-topped standard; an indistinct symbol between the two.

Pl. II, 12.

Reverse. Blank or obliterated.

The coin may be attributed to Kauśāmbī, where it was found. A *v*-topped banner but with two horizontal projections in front of the lankey bull is to be seen on some issues of Kauśāmbī.² In the case of the present coin the animal is a dog and the banner has not got any horizontal projections. It is possible to suggest that the coin may have been one from Ujjayinī; for a *v*-topped banner exactly like the present one is often to be seen on some Ujjayinī coins.³ The attribution of the coin to Ujjayinī is however doubtful, because copper coins do not usually travel so long. In favour of the claim of Ujjayinī, it must be however stated that Ujjayinī and Kauśāmbī were two famous cities, the commercial intercourse between which must have been very brisk. Even copper coins from one city must have often reached the other in the course of trade transactions.

No. 4

Metal, copper.

Size, oblong and pointed at one end, and rolled up at the other; .7" x .5".

Weight, 132.4 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Three arched hill with a crescent at the top; perhaps an additional symbol, obliterated.

1. Allan, p. 152, No. 24.

2. *Ibid*, p. 148.

3. *Ibid*, p. 244 No. 24, p. 253, No. 78, p. 254, No. 85, p. 260, Nos. 118 & 121.

Reverse. Railing enclosing a vertical object curving at the top to the left.

Pl. II, 13.

The coin is published here because its shape is very peculiar. At its non-pointed end it is rolled up, which also is an interesting feature. The object on the obverse cannot be described as tree within railing, because it has no branches. It has a greater resemblance to a *yūpa* or sacrificial post, which according to sacred texts must curve on one side, as is the case with the present object. A banner was also to flutter at the top of the *yūpa* and we can perhaps see its trace at the end of the post.

A symbol more or less like the one under discussion can be seen on some of the Yaudheya coins with the legend, *Yaudheyānām bahudhānakānām*,¹ which belong to the 2nd century A. D. The symbol on the obverse, the moon on the hill, however appears on early cast uninscribed coins from Takshaśilā. It is therefore difficult to determine the time and the provenance of the present coin.

Nos. 5 and 6

Metal, copper.

Size, roughly square, No. 5 (Pl. II, 14) is .6" sq. and No. 6 (Pl. II, 15) is .45" sq.

Weight, No. 5, 37.3 grains; No. 6, 23.5 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Four marks in four corners; they are nearly identical in both the coins and occur on them in the same cyclic order.

Reverse. A symbol like the horse shoe.

Pl. II, 14 and 15.

The symbols on the obverse are peculiar. The one in the lower right corner is indistinct but the remaining three are clear. The symbol in the lower left corner looks like the early Brāhmī letter *ga* and the next one above it like the letter *ḍo*. The symbol in the upper right corner does not resemble any letter.

Once I had thought that the symbols may be letters and the coins may be guild coins. For if we read the symbols from outside, the one like *ḍo* becomes *ni*, the one above it is *ga* and the blurred one may have been a *ma*. But the remaining

1. Allan, pp. 267-8.

symbol does not look like the letter *sa*; it looks like the letter *ye*. It is therefore not at all possible to read the legend *nigamasa* on these coins.

I may add, however, that the seal No. 60, discovered at Bhita, is a *nigama* or guild seal and the four letters *nigamasa* of the legend are engraved in four corners exactly as is done on the present coins (A.R., A.S.R., 1910-11 Pl. XIX). This may lend some support to the view that the coins under discussion also are *nigama* coins. *Nigamaye* can be a corruption of *nigamaka* under Hemachandra's rule *Avarṇo yaśrutih* VIII. 1. 178. Compare also *tiṭhayaro* for *tiṭhakaro*. The legend *nigamaka* may mean a coin of a *nigama* or trade guild. I am not inclined to accept this reading, firstly because it requires us to read the legend from outside, and secondly because there is no certainty that the third letter is *ma*.

No. 7.

Metal, copper.

Size, roughly oval, .85" x .70".

Weight, 88.4 grains.

Provenance, Kauśāmbī.

Cast.

Obverse. Three human figures standing; the central one has raised both its hands and holds an arrow in its left hand. The figure on left, which looks like that of a female, holds one hand down and the other is upraised. The third figure is indistinct. Pl. II, 16.

Reverse. Blank.

Coins with human figures are found at Ujjayinī, but they were so far unknown in the Kauśāmbī series. At Ujjayinī, human figures are not to be seen in the posture of the present coin. This coin may be tentatively assigned to the 3rd or the 2nd century B.C.

SOME INTERESTING MEDIEVAL COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

I am publishing here the following three medieval coins from the collection of R. B. M. Vyas, as they are interesting and important from some points of view.

A COPPER AROHA-DRAMMA OF JAYAVARMAN

The coinage of the Chandella dynasty has been discussed by V. A. Smith in *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, pp. 366-368 and in the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 253-4 and by Cunningham in *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 78-80. Coins were issued by the rulers of this dynasty in three metals, viz. gold, silver and copper and in three denominations, *dramma*, *ardhadramma* and *pādadramma*. We however do not get coins of all the rulers in all the three metals and in all the three denominations. Only gold coins of Kings Kīrttivarman, Śaṅkhaṇavarman, Paramarddideva, Trailokyavarman and Vīravarman are so far found. Jayavarman and Prithivivarman are known from copper coins only. The coins of Madanavarman are found in all the three metals.

We should not however suppose that we have become successful in recovering all the varieties in all the metals of these rulers. King Jayavarman, who ruled during the second quarter of the 12th century, was so far known only from copper *drmmas*. The collection of Rai Bahadur Vyas contains an *ardhadramma* in copper of this ruler, which so far was unknown. I am publishing it here.

Metal, copper.

Size, roughly round, diameter, .5".

Weight, 30 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Legend in three lines; 1 *Śrīmaṣ[jā]* 2 *yava[r]ma*
3 *deva*.

Reverse. Hanuman flying.

Pl. II, 17.

A COPPER COIN OF MALAYAVARMAN.

Coins of a dynasty ruling at Narwar, which has been described as Rajput dynasty so far, have been published by Cunningham in *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 92-3. The Kureṭhā plates however now show that the rulers of this house belonged to the Pratihāra family and were possibly collateral descendants of the great Pratihāras. The earliest known ruler of this house

is Malayavarman ; I have discovered a fragmentary inscription of this ruler wherein he is described as having overthrown and killed a world-conquering hero. In my paper on this record in the *Epigraphia Indica*, which may be shortly published, I have shown that the record refers to the wresting away of the fort of Gwalior from the hands of the Muslims sometime after 1210 A. D.

The coins of king Malayavarman have been already published by Cunningham. I am here publishing the present coin, because unlike the coins published by Cunningham, the present coin bears traces of an inscription on the side of the horse also, which are not to be noted on Cunningham's coins. Our coin further shows that we have to read the legend not as *Śrī Malayavarmmadeva* but probably as *Śrīmanmalayavarmmadeva*. It bears no date of issue.

Metal, copper.

Size, oval, .8" × .6".

Weight, 48 grains.

Provenance, unknown.

Die-struck.

Obverse. Legend in three lines, 1 *Śrīmanma[la]* 2 *yava*
[*r*]*m[ma]* 3 [*deva.*] No traces of date below.

Reverse. Rude horseman, with traces of legend around, which is illegible on the present piece.

PI. II, 18.

A COIN OF RATNADEVA (?)

Metal, copper.

Size, oval, .5" × .6".

Weight, 52.5 grains.

Die-struck.

Provenance, unknown.

Obverse. Legend in two lines, [*Śrī*]*ma[d]* or [*j*]...2
deva.

Reverse. A rude sketch of a horseman charging with a lance. Only the upper portion is visible.





PI. II, 19.




As the name of the king is not complete on the legend, it is difficult to identify the issuer. The letter after *ma*, which is but partly visible, looks like the first part of the conjunct *dra* or *jja*. The first letter of the second line looks like a *ra* or a portion of the conjunct *tna*. It does not look like a portion of *ya*. The issuer of this coin may therefore be a king bearing a name like Ratnadeva or Viradeva. Less likely he may be Jāyadeva or Jājalladeva, with the second letter omitted in the legend.

The most probable view is that this is a coin of Ratnadeva. The last letter in the first line certainly looks like the remnant of a *dra*. It bears a fair resemblance to the letter *dra* in the copper coin of Ratnadeva published by Cunningham in *Coins of Medieval India*, Pl. VIII, No. 11. Only the vertical of the first letter in the second line is visible and it may have been the vertical of the letter *tna*. Its appearing more like a *ra* may be due to the polishing of the edge of the coin near the vertical. It is therefore plausible to suggest tentatively that the coin may be a coin of king Ratnadeva of the Eastern Chedi dynasty. Ratnadeva of this coin would be Ratnadeva III. If this attribution is correct, the present coin would be a new type of the copper coinage of Ratnadeva. So far on the reverse of his copper coins, only a lion has been found figuring. On this coin, there is horseman charging. This type had become very popular in the Punjab and northern U. P. in the 12th century, and it is likely that Ratnadeva III may have issued some copper coins of this variety also.


































The reading Ratnadeva is however not free from some doubt. I am publishing the coin in the hope that it may enable some scholar to suggest a better reading.

HEPHTHALITE MONOGRAMS AND SYMBOL

1.  2.  3.  4. 

5.  6.  7. 

PAHLAVI LEGENDS

1.  AND  2.  3.  4.  5.  6. 
7.  8.  9.  10. 
11.  12.  13. 
14.  14a.  14b.  14c.  14d. 
15.  15a.  16.  16a.  16b.  17.  17a.  18.  19.  20.  21.  22.  23.  24. 

HEPHTHALITE COINS WITH PAHLAVI LEGENDS.

BY J. M. UNVALA, Ph.D., NAVSARI.

The Hephthalites, the Ye-t'a of the Chinese, are erroneously considered by some historians to be a branch of the Yue-tche, who remained in Central Asia. They are taken by others like H. Cordier for a branch of the Hiong-Nou. The name Hephthalite applied to them and to their kingdom is derived from Ye-t'a (Yep-ta). They were known to the Greeks as 'Εφθαλίται and 'Αβδελαί, to the Syrians as Abdel, to the Armenians as Hep'tat and T'etalk', and to the Arabs as الهبثال, plural الهبثالة. When they were driven away from the country, situated to the North of the Chinese Wall by Touloun, San-yü or Khaqan of the Iouan-Iouan, the Hiong-Nou pushed themselves eastwards, splitted into three branches : (1) the Huns of Attila, (2) the Kidarite Huns, who conquered the Caucasus, and (3) the Hephthalites. The latter who were also known as the White Huns (Λευκοὶ Οὐννοί) had taken possession of Tokharistan in the third quarter of the fifth century A. D. and had thus become neighbours of the Sassanian Empire on the north-eastern side.¹

The great Yue-tche were defeated by the Iranians under Yazdagard I in about 425 A. D. King Firūz lost his life in 484 A. D. while fighting the Hephthalites.² A branch of the latter was repulsed by Skandagupta in c. 455 A. D. ; but ten years later they took Gandhāra, and later on penetrated to the central provinces of the Gupta Empire during the last decade of the fifth century A. D. Some Hephthalite chiefs call themselves in their Indian legends *Shāhi* kings, among whom Toramāṇa and his son Mihirakula are well known. The power of the latter was crushed in c. 530 A. D. by a confederacy formed by Yaśodharman of Malava and Narasimhagupta Balāditya of Magadha.³ It was Toramāṇa who built the famous temple of the Sun in Multan, with its idol in red gold.⁴ In Iran, the Hephthalites were defeated by Chosroes I with the help of the Turks. The *Gr.Bd.* 215, 13-216, 1 refers to this event as follows : "Chosroes of the immortal soul, son of Kavāt, drove away the Chionites who used to make incursions into Ērānshahr. He barred their way (by a wall) and made Ērānshahr free from fear." The gold coin of Chosroes I with the legend : *Husrui. Chihār-sih. Gēhān apēbīm kartār*

1. J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 58 seq.

2. *Iranian Bundahišn* or *Great Bundahišn* (*Gr. Bd.*) 215.7.

3. J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 212, note 2.

4. J. de Morgan, *Manuel de numismatique orientale*, Paris, 1923-1936, p. 447.

i. e. "Chosroes. (Year) 34. He who has made the world free from fear" refers also to this event.⁵

Cunningham's opinion⁶ that nearly all Hephthalite coins have been Sassanian pieces restruck only on the obverse, which has almost obliterated the reverse original, cannot be corroborated. Although the fire-altar, flanked by an attendant on either side, forms the reverse-motif of numerous Hephthalite coins, the technic and the design of this motif is unknown to the Sassanian coinage. The motif seems to have been imitated from the coins of Varharān IV, Yazdagard II and Firūz, where the attendants are standing with their faces turned towards the fire, and from the coins of Chosroes I and his successors. The reverse-motif of the bust of the *X'arāsān X'arrah*, facing, is borrowed from gold and silver coins of Chosroes II, commemorating the liberation of Khorasan from the Hephthalites. The partial or total effacement of these reverse-motifs, especially of the fire-altar, and the somewhat concave aspect of the reverse is due to first stamping the reverse-motif and then, without protecting it in any way, stamping the obverse-motif whose die must have been slightly concave.

The standard of the Hephthalite coins is the Sassanian silver drachm of about 5 grammes or 77 grains and its subdivisions. These coins are of silver and copper; we also sometimes get copper coins which are silver-plated (*saucé d'argent*).

The coins of the Hephthalites have been published by Cunningham.⁷ They were found mostly in Afghanistan, at Kabul and Kandahar and in India, in the Panjab, chiefly at Peshawar and several other places, and in Rajputana and Malava.

At a time when every antiquity found in India was bought up by highly paid British officials and taken by them out of the country and ultimately deposited in the British Museum of London, Hephthalite coins also had found their way to England, either as private collections or as acquisitions and gifts to the above museum, so that it has at present a unique collection of 286 Hephthalite coins of silver and copper. They had once formed part of the state collection of the India Office, and of private collections of Cunningham, Whitehead, Prinsep, Eden and Ellis. In view of this fact, it is deplorable that in the coin-cabinet of the Indian Museum of Calcutta there should be hardly any important Hephthalite coins worth mentioning.

5. E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, II. Berlin, 1930, p. 149.

6. A. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894, p. 276.

7. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 276 seq.

During my visit to London in September 1938 I had the occasion of studying the Hephthalite coins of the British Museum with the kind permission of the curator, Dr. J. Allan, and of the assistant curator, Mr. J. Walker. Dr. Allan had casts of numerous coins made for me for photographs.

Hephthalite coins can be roughly classed into two big groups: (1) coins of the purely Sassanian type, having fire-altar, flanked on either side by an attendant, as motif of the reverse, and (2) coins having on the obverse the bust of a prince in more or less Sassanian style, and on the reverse Hindu sacred animals and symbols, connected with some deities of the Hindu pantheon. Of these the *triśula* and zebu-bull are Śaivite, and conch and wheel are Vaiṣṇavite; Goddess holding a flower is rather enigmatical.

A minute examination of these coins permits us to class them into no less than twenty-three types and several subtypes. According to their legends, they are to be classed into three groups: (1) monolingual coins, having either Pahlavi legend or Indian legend in Brāhmī script, or Hephthalite legend in corrupt Greek script; (2) bilingual coins with Pahlavi and Hephthalite legends; and (3) trilingual coins having Pahlavi, Hephthalite and Indian or Arabic legends.

We cannot enter in this paper into a detailed description of Hephthalite coins with monolingual, bilingual and trilingual legends. We shall confine ourselves only to coins with Pahlavi legends. They have three noteworthy features; these are: (1) the Hephthalite script which is considered by Heinrich F. J. Junker and E. Herzfeld to be a corrupt form of the Greek script; (2) the presence of a special monogram which is taken for the national symbol of the Hephthalites; (3) the presence of a buffalo's head surmounting the king's headdress adorned with wings.

There are eight classes of Hephthalite coins with Pahlavi legends:

I. The first class consists of coins with the Pahlavi legend: *NPKI*, *NAPKI* or *NIPKI MLKA* (Pl. V, legends Nos. 1, 2, and 3) which is very often in a cursive form and the monograms Nos. 1, 2 or 3 (Pl. III, Nos. 1-8).

Obv. The king wears a headdress adorned with wings, surmounted by buffalo's head (Pl. III. Nos. 1-7). On a series of coins the wings are treated like *triśulas* (Pl. III, No. 8).

Rev. Fire-altar with attendants; over their heads there is a wheel representing the Sun. The reverse is uninscribed.

Now, about the significance of the buffalo's head, surmounting the king's headdress, the Chinese annals record that the king

of Kipin, i. e. Kashmere, in the seventh century A. D. wore a *bonnet en tête de boeuf*⁸.

The Hephthalite monogram No. 4 from which No. 3 and No. 1 are developed and their cursive forms, Nos. 2 and 5, (Pl. V) are the simplest and basic forms of monograms on Sassanian seals, which are often developed into complicated, but well balanced and symmetrical monograms on other Sassanian seals. As some of these monograms decorate helmets of noblemen depicted on seals and on bas-reliefs of Naqshe-Rustam and Naqshe-Shahpur, they are taken as family-crests by Herzfeld and other archæologists.

The name of the king is written *NPKI*, *NAPKI* and *NIPKI* (Pl. V, legends Nos. 1, 2 and 3). It can therefore be read *Napki* or *Nāpki* and *Nēaki* or *Nēzaki*. I prefer the last reading, as a prince of the Hephthalites of that name, who bore the title *Tarkhān*, carried on negotiations with Yazdagard III⁹. J. de Morgan puts the prince Napki (or Nēzaki) between the fourth and fifth century A. D. This date, rather the latter half of the fifth century, would coincide with the reign of Fīrūz. Now, because a Nēzak, a prince of the Hephthalites, is mentioned as a contemporary of Yazdagard III, i. e., in the seventh century A. D. (see above), I think that Nēzak was a dynastic name of a line of Hephthalite kings, like Arsaces which was the dynastic name of the Parthian sovereigns of Iran. The differences of types and legends of the coins in question would go to prove this supposition.

II. The second class is illustrated by a coin of J. de Morgan's collection with the name of a certain *DRC* or *DRZ* (*MLK*)*A* (Pl. V, legend No. 4) in Pahlavi characters¹⁰. The date (?) and the mint-mark in Pahlavi script on the reverse (Pl. V, legends Nos. 5 and 6) are illegible. This Hephthalite prince must have flourished at the end of the sixth century A.D., as the design of the reverse-motif shows.

III. The third class consists of coins with the Indian name of the king *Śrī Yādevi Māna Śrī* (according to Cunningham *op. cit.*, p. 289) in Brāhmī characters (Pl. III, No. 9). On the reverse, behind the attendant standing on left of the fire-altar, there is a group of Pahlavi letters (Pl. V, legend No. 7) which can be read *dāt* "justice". I think that it stands for the date *vīst* "20", but in that case the initial *v* is missing in all the six coins of this class known up to date. A short Pahlavi legend (Pl. V, legend No. 8) behind the attendant on

8. Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, I, p. 211, quoted by Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

9. J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 and 150.

10. J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 449, fig. 588.

right, stands perhaps for the mint-mark. Interesting is the pose of the attendants who are dressed in the Indian style and who are standing in the Indian attitude of prayer.

IV. The fourth class consists of coins with the Indian name *Vasu Vangāra* or *Chandāra* (according to Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 290) in Brāhmī characters (Pl. IV, Nos. 10 and 11). The legends on right and left of the fire-altar are *pa nām i yazat* (Pl. V, legend No. 9) "in the name of God" and *afzūn* (Pl. V, legend No. 10) "increase" respectively. J. de Morgan attributes this coin on the authority of Specht to Chach, son of Silāij, the king of Sind who died in 672 A. D. after a reign of forty years.¹¹ This Chach is the hero of the *Chachnāma*.

V. The fifth class consists of coins of Shāhi Tigīn who calls himself *Tigīn Xʿarāsān Šāh* (Pl. V, legend No. 11) in the Pahlavi legend on right of the reverse-motif, which is a female bust, facing, with a fire-nimbus around the head (Pl. IV, Nos. 12 and 13). This personage is identified by Herzfeld as the *Xʿarāsān Xʿarrah* or "the Glory of Khorasan". It is not the bust of the Sun-god of Multan to whom Toramāṇa had erected a temple in which he had placed his idol in red gold, just as Cunningham had thought¹². The Pahlavi legend on left of the reverse-motif gives the date *haft-haftāt* (Pl. V, legend No. 12) "77". The Hephthalite name of this Tigīn remains concealed in the obscure Hephthalite legend on right of the effigy of the obverse.

The date 77 is probably that of the reign of the Tigīn or perhaps that of the Hephthalite era, of which we have no record. The Pahlavi word for "77" has been read by Cunningham *Saf-Takhif-Tef = Srī Tigīn Devaja*, i. e. "Śrī Divine Tigīn".

That the female bust with the fire-nimbus represents the *Xʿarāsān Xʿarrah* and neither the Sun-god of Multan as Cunningham had interpreted it, nor Maitreya Boddhisatva as Andreas had thought, has been proved by Herzfeld¹³. The same bust is found on the reverse of the coins of Chosroes II, commemorating the liberation of Khorasan from the Hephthalites, and on one of the state-seals of Chosroes II, a golden ring with engraved carnelian, mentioned by Masʿūdī, II, 282. Thus the coins of Tigīn *Xʿarāsān Šāh* must be posterior to this event, which must have taken place before the 23rd year of the reign of Chosroes II, corresponding to 613 A. D., as this date is found on his gold coin mentioned above. This Tigīn was perhaps a vassal appointed by Chosroes II.

11. J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-452, fig. 595.

12. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

13. E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 158 seq.

Tigīn, Turkish *تغين*, Sanskrit *tigina* is rather a title given to Hephthalite princes¹⁴ than the name of a prince. Moreover, we learn from Chavannes, that the king of Zābulistān appointed one of his brothers or son King of Kapica with the title *tigīn* in 720 A. D.¹⁵ Thus the coins of Tigīn Xʿarāsān Šāh are politically connected with the coins of Zāvulistān, struck by Pangūr (?) and Martānšāh, if not chronologically (see below).

There is an Indian marginal legend in Brāhmī characters on the obverse of the coins of Tigīn which is read by Cunningham as follows: *Sri Hitivi-cha Airāna-cha Parameswara Sri Shāhi Tigīn Devaja*-, i. e. "the fortunate sovereign both of India and Persia, the fortunate Shāhi Tigīn, the son of Heaven"¹⁶. This legend is however read differently by Preisep and Thomas.

VI. The sixth class consists of coins with the Indian name *Vasu Deva* (according to Cunningham) and the Iranian name *Martānšāh* (Pl. IV, Nos. 15—18). This type is an imitation of the silver drachm of Chosroes II, commemorating his victory over the Hephthalites.

On the obverse, in field, on left of the bust of the king, facing, there is a protoma of griffin with peacock's tail and the Pahlavi legend *xʿarrah afzūt* (Pl. V, legend No. 13) "May the glory increase," and on right, the Pahlavi legend *heptār xvatāv* (Pl. V, legend No. 14), where *A P N R* for *A D P T R*, (see Pl. V, legends Nos. 14a and 14b) "the king of the Hephthalites"; the marginal Pahlavi legend is as follows: *pa nām i yazat heptār bay xvatāv(u) N AMAN AP (?) Martānšāh* (Pl. V, legend No. 15), i. e. "in the name of God. The divine king of the Hephthalites, -?- Martānšāh". The reverse has the bust of the Xʿarāsān Xʿarrah, facing; the Pahlavi legend on its right gives the date and the mint (Pl. V, legend No. 16), viz. year 15, Zāvulistān. The marginal Pahlavi legend *DDP RC RMAN DA(=S) AN* (Pl. V, legend No. 17) remains obscure (Pl. IV, No. 16).

My reading *heptār xvatāv* and *heptār bay xvatāv* is based on a Persian phrase found in Syriac *Hēftārān xodāi*¹⁷. The word *heptār* is written defectively on all the ten coins of Martānšāh known up to date, viz. *A P N R* (Pl. V, legend No. 14a) instead of *A D P T R* (Pl. V, legend No. 14b); *GrBd.* 215.

14. J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

15. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kine (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Pétersbourg, 1903, p. 161, note 1.

16. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

17. H. W. Bailey, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, 4, London 1932, p. 946.

7 seq. has *hēptārān* (Pl. V, legend No. 14c) written with a superfluous curve. Should the form *APNR* (Pl. V, legend No. 14a) of the coins be read *hētal*, Arabic *هَيْتَال*, thus corresponding to *hētūl*, rather *hētal* (Pl. V, legend No. 14d) of *Denkart*, Madon's edition, 438, 12? The form *xvatāv* is Middle Sogdian for Pahlavi *xʷatāy*. It is found in the fragments of Sogdian manuscripts from Central Asia written in Aramaic characters in the first decade of the first century A. D. They have been studied by Cowley and R. Gauthiot in *J. R. A. S.* 1911, pp. 159 seq., 497 seq., and 1912, pp. 341 seq.¹⁸ Compare the titles *tūrān xudāy*, *zābul xudāy*, etc. occurring in the *Šāhnāma* for determining the meaning of the title *hēptār xvatāv* "king of the Hephthalites."¹⁹ What concerns the expression *bay xvatāv* "divine king", we read that an official calls himself *BNTK = wantak*, i. e. "servant, slave" in a letter found among the fragments mentioned above, which he addresses to his chief, whereas he calls the chief *BIV XVT'V = wayo xvatāv* "divine king". The king is addressed with this title in the *Vessantara Jātaka* which was written six centuries later. The Sassanian king was addressed as *šmāk bayān* "Your Deity" (plurale honoris), i. e. "Your Majesty"²⁰. The marginal legend of the reverse (Pl. V, legend No. 17) is read by Cunningham *Sapardalakshshān = Sapārdalaksha = Rajputana(?)*²¹.

The coins of Martānsāh are very important, (1) as they show countermarks of the protoma of the griffin with peacock's tail and of boar's head (Pl. IV, Nos. 17 and 18); (2) as all the ten coins of this prince are dated in Pahlavi, six have the year 15, three the year 9 (Pl. V, legend No. 16a), and one the year 11 (Pl. V legend No. 16b). These dates are given probably in the regal era of the king of Zāvulistān who calls himself Vasu Deva in the Indian and Martānsāh in the Pahlavi legends, but whose Hephthalite name remains obscure.

Three coins with the date year 9 show a variant in the marginal legend of the obverse, viz. *NAMAPAN* (Pl. V, legend No. 15a) instead of *NAMANAP* (see Pl. V, legend No. 15). Another coin (Pl. IV, No. 18) whose date is effaced has besides the usual marginal legend of the reverse, the Pahlavi word *HRNN* (Pl. V, legend No. 17a) *ārūn*, Persian *آر* "of good quality" which we find on Tabaristan coins²². There is a deep countermark of boar's head on the obverse.

Martānsāh was the son of Sirīn, whom Chosroes II appointed his successor at the end of his reign, setting aside

18. Chr. Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der mittelpersischen Mundarten*, III, Heidelberg, 1920, p. 10.

19. Chr. Bartholomae, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

20. Chr. Bartholomae, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

21. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

22. J. M. Unvala, *Numismatique du Tabaristan*, Paris, 1938, p. 10, §25.

Sarvên, Seroe, the son of Maria, his Christian queen, and imprisoning him. But Seroe escaped, conspired with the nobles, and had Chosroes assassinated in 628 A. D. The successor to the Sassanian throne was perhaps the governor of Khorasan, just as it was the case of Smerdes in the time of Cyrus the Great. There was another Martānšāh, the brother of Bahrām Cōbīn, and Pātākōspān or Pādghōspān, i. e. Klimatarchos of Nīmroz, which was the region of the Hephthalites, whom Chosroes II had removed from his post and had his right hand cut off, as he feared his power unnecessarily. According to other reports, it was his son Mihr-Hormizd who executed Chosroes II²³. Thus these coins must be contemporaneous with these events.

Zāvulistān, in Armenian *Zplstan*, is the province formerly known as Arachosia. Its capital was Ghaznain. According to Ṭabarī it was conquered by the Hephthalites during the reign of Fīrūz, but it was reconquered by Chosroes I. Cunningham thinks that the name *Zāvulistān* was given to this province by the Hephthalites, one of whose kings Toramāna 505 A. D. calls himself *Mahārāja Toramāna Shāha Jaūla* in the inscription from Kyura-Panjab and on coins *Jabubla* or *Jabwla*²⁴.

Herzfeld has drawn attention to the following point: The protoma of the griffin with peacock's tail, the *Anqā* of Ibn Faqīh, is the heraldic emblem which Chosroes II has on his robe on the *Tāq i Bōstān*, where he is represented hunting in a boat and riding *Šabdīz*, and also on the *dībāj i khusraw* (Ṭabarī, I. 1048, 17), a piece from which forms the proud exhibit of the Victoria and Albert Museum of London²⁵. Three coins of the collection of Cunningham have over this griffin the Sassanian countermark of boar's head. On the contrary, several coins of Fīrūz have the Hephthalite countermark, which proves that Fīrūz paid tribute to the Hephthalites. We know from Mas'ūdī, II. 282 that a boar's head formed the device of one of the state-seals of Chosroes II. Thus the Hephthalite coins with this countermark show that the Hephthalites submitted themselves to Chosroes II in the 36/37th year of his reign, just as we learn from the Armenian historian Sebeos²⁶.

VII. The seventh class consists of a unique coin of a certain *P N DU R* with Pahlavi, Hephthalite and Indian legends

23. E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

24. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

25. E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

26. J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

(Pl. IV, No. 14). It is attributed by J. de Morgan to Dhārsiya, son of Chach, on the authority of Specht²⁷.

It has on the obverse the bust of the king, facing, face three-fourth in profile, wearing a tiara, adorned with a pair of wings and two crescents; in field to right there is a small human figure lying on its back with the head between legs which are raised in the air; below it there are a dotted semi-circle with four fillets, and the symbol No. 7 (Pl. V); the Pahlavi legend on right: *x'arrah P N D N R bay xvatāv* (Pl. V, legend No. 18), i. e. "May the glory of Pandūr or Pangūr (?), the divine king, (increase)!" ; on left, a Hephthalite legend. The reverse has the bust of X'arāsān X'arrah, facing; on right, the mint-mark *Zāvulistān* in Pahlavi script (Pl. V, legend No. 19); on left, the Pahlavi legend: *hēptār bay xvatāv* (Pl. V, legend No. 20), i. e. "the divine king of the Hephthalites". The word *hēptār* is written *A P R R* instead of the usual *A P N R* (Pl. III, legend No. 14.) for *A D P T R* (Pl. III, legend No. 14b); see the coins of Martānsāh.

VIII. The eighth class is illustrated by silver drachms with Pahlavi, Hephthalite and Arabic legends, struck by two Arab governors of Khurasan, of which fourteen are known to exist, one struck by Rabī' ibn Ziyād (?) in 39 anno Yazdagardi and the rest by 'Abdallāh ibn Khazīm (?) between 63 and 69 A. H.²⁸. They are a thorough imitation of the drachms of Chosroes II. J. de Morgan has illustrated a drachm of 'Abdallah dated 68 A. H., which he thinks was struck by Hejjāj bin Yūsuf, governor of the East²⁹.

It has on the obverse the bust of Chosroes II, facing, with face in profile to right; on left of the effigy, the Pahlavi legend: *x'arrah afzūtu* (Pl. V, legend No. 21). "May the glory increase"; on its right, a Hephthalite legend in two lines. The margin is divided into four segments by three crescents with stars and the wings of the headdress; in the first segment, from right, the Hephthalite monogram No. 6 (Pl. V); in the second. بسم الله; in the third, the Pahlavi legend: *afzūn x'arrah* (Pl. V, legend No. 22). The reverse has the fire-altar, flanked on either side by an attendant, facing; on its right, the Pahlavi legend: *hašt-ša[st]* (Pl. V, legend No. 23) "68"; on left *DDN B A = XURA* (?) = *X'arāsān*³⁰. (Pl. III, legend No. 24). The margin is divided into four segments by four crescents with star; the first and the fourth segments have short Hephthalite legends, and the second and third have the Pahlavi legends *afzūn* and *x'arrah* (Pl. V legend No. 22) respectively.

27. J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 458, fig. 597.

28. John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1941, pp. 127-129, Pl. XXII, Nos. 6-10 and Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. 1-4.

29. J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 455-456, fig. 601. This drachm is similar to the one illustrated by J. Walker, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII. No. 7.

30. J. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. LXVI.

THE OLD NAMES OF SUNETA AND SUDAVAPA.

BY DR. V. S. AGRAWALA,

CURATOR, PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW.

Sunet is an old site lying in ruins in the district and tahsil Ludhiana, in the Punjab, situated in 30° 53' North and 75° 50' East, 3 miles south-west of Ludhiana town. A large mound, 1750 feet in length and 1200 feet in breadth marks the ancient site of a once important city. It was visited by Cunningham in 1878-79, who picked up more than one thousand old coins on the site. Cunningham concluded that the town of Sunet must have been in existence before the Christian era as shown by the coins of Uttamadatta and Amoghabhūti, and that it continued to flourish during the whole period of the Indo-Scythians and of their successors who used Sassanian types down to the type of Sāmantadeva, the Brahman king of Kabul and the Punjab. On the other hand from the total absence of coins of the Tomar Rajas of Delhi and of the various Muhammadan dynasties, it would appear that Sunet was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni and was never re-occupied.¹

Recently Dr. Birbal Sahni, D. Sc., F. R. S., wrote a paper² on the Yaudheya coin moulds acquired from Sunet (now deposited in the Bhārata-kalā-bhavana, Benares), and kindly sent to me its manuscript for perusal. While going through the paper the antiquity of Sunet, as inferred from its coins, made an impression on my mind and I looked for its old name in the geographical lists preserved in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

Luckily I was able to find the old name of Sunet as Sunetra in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini's Sūtra IV. 2. 75 (*Saṃkalāḍibhyaścha*). The place names in this list as given in the Kāśikā are as follows :—

1. संकल 2. पुष्कल 3. उदप 4. उहप 5. उत्पुट 6. कुम्भ
7. विधान 8. सुदक्ष 9. सुदत्त 10. सुभूत 11. सुनेत्र 12. सुपिंग
13. सिकता 14. पूतीक्री 15. पूलास 16. कूलास 17. निवेश 18. गवेष
19. गम्भीर 20. इतर 21. शर्मन् 22. अहन् 23. लोमन् 24. वेमन्
25. वरुण 26. बहुल 27. सद्योज 28. आभिषिक्त 29. गोमृत् 30. राजमृत्
31. गृह 32. मृत् 33. भल्ल 34. माल

1. Cunningham, A. S. R. Vol. XIV. p. 66. Also *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 146.

2. *Current Science*, February, 1941, p. 65.

In the above list Saṅkala corresponds to Sangala of Alexander's historians¹ and Saubhuta to Greek Sophytes.²

According to the grammatical formation the city founded by Sunetra would be known as Saunetra, e. g.,

सुनेत्रेण निर्वृत्तम् नगरं सौनेत्रम् ।

The modern name Sunet is philologically more akin to Sunetra than to Saunetra.

Sunetra is referred to in the *Mahābhārata*³ as one of the three sons of the earlier Dhritrāshṭra, son of Janamejaya, in the Kuru dynastic list. This prince may have been remembered as the eponymous founder of the place which bore its name after him. Other instances of eponymous heroes reputed as founders of cities or *janapadas* are also found in old literature; e. g., Suvīra, son of Sibi Auśīnara, founded Sauvīra, and Kekaya and Madraka, two other sons of the same Sibi, founded Kaikeya and Madra *janapadas*.

Amongst place names in Pāṇini's list I may also draw attention to the name Udvapa. It is tempting to connect this name with Sudavapa read on a class of coins recently found from Rairh in Jaipur State. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit suggested that Sudavapa was a title or family name.⁴ Dr. K. N. Puri on the other hand interprets Sudavapa as a place name. He writes: 'The first variety of Sūryamitra's coins bears the legends *Udehaki* and *Suyamitasa*; the second '*Sudavapa*' and *Suyamitasa* (see Appendix B, Inscribed Coins Nos. 19 to 23). I do not entertain much doubt that Sudavapa, like Udehaki, is a place-name. If it had been a title or a dynastic name, it would have occurred also on other series of the same king or dynasty, but it occurs on no coins found in Pañchāla, at Mathurā or at Kanauj. It, however, occurs on other coins (i. e., of Dhruvamitra) found at Rairh itself, though his Pañchāla series does not possess it'.⁵ Sudavapa seems to have been formed by adding 'Su' prefix to Udvapa and it appears that the two names *Sudavapa* and *Udvapa* were not distinct and referred to one and the same place.

1. McGrindle, *Alexander's Invasion*, p. 348.

2. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Vol. I. p. 65.

3. Ādiparvan, 94. 61,

धृतराष्ट्रसुतानाहुस्त्रीनेतान्प्रथितान्भुवि ।

प्रतीपं धर्मनेत्रं च सुनेत्रं चापि भारत ॥

4. *Journal of the Numismatic Society*, Vol. III. p. 48.

5. *Excavations at Rairh* by K. N. Puri, p. 52.

IDENTIFICATION OF *AGĀCHA* ON AGROHA COINS.

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, Azamgarh.

During the winter season of 1938-39, excavations were conducted by Mr. H. G. L. Srivastava of the Archaeological Department at Agroha in the Hissar district of the Punjab. During the excavations a hoard of 51 copper coins of a new type came to light. A similar group of coins was also procured by Mr. Rodgers many years ago at Barwala, a few miles to the east of Agroha. This has been discussed by Mr. Allan in his Introduction to the Catalogue of Ancient Indian Coins in the British Museum¹ Rodgers' specimens are all circular and they show on the obverse 'tree and railing' and a circular legend. The reverse has either a bull to right or a lion or Lakshmi. The present specimens are all square and some in perfect condition. The obverse shows tree within railing and the legend regularly runs round it. Rodgers' coins have two types of legend; on one group (Nos. 22 to 25 of Allan's list) it has been read by Mr. Allan as *Agāchamītrapadabhisa* and, by Dr. L. D. Barnett, with a slight change as *Agāchamītrapadabhiśhyāyīnāḥ*². The legend on the other group (Nos. 26, 28 and 29 of Allan's list) runs as *Agodaka Agāchu Janapadasa*. In the Agroha find, all the coins have the legend of this group with a slight change in some cases; the first two words are often combined by means of a *sindhi* as *Agodakāgācha Janapadasa*.

Great interest has been shown by numismatic scholars about this particular group of coins since the Agroha coins came to light. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeology in India, published an official press note about it on 23rd December 1939 and referred to it in his presidential address, delivered in the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, 1939³. Simultaneously Dr. Barnett published a paper "Another lost tribe of the Punjab" in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*,⁴ and discussed the two legends of Rodgers' finds. Dr. Panna Lal also mentioned these coins in his presidential address in 1940⁵. Dr. Vasudeva Sharana Agrawala, Curator of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, also touched the subject in a brief article about the Agrawal community in the magazine '*Agrawal Hitaishī*' published from Agra.

1. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction p. clvii.

2. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. X. p. 279.

3. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting*, of N. S. I. (1939) pp. 9-10.

4. Vol. X, p. 279

5. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of N. S. I. (1940)*, p. 8.

I now propose to discuss here the view points of these eminent scholars and put forth my humble suggestions with special reference to the term *Agācha* in the legend *Agōdakā Agācha Janapadasa*.

There is not the least doubt that the legend '*Agōdaka Agācha Janapadasa*' is exactly of the same type as that of '*Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa*', on a type of coins found associated with the ancient town of Nāgarī near Chitorgarh.¹ *Majhamikāya* refers to the chief town or capital of the republic (*Janapada*), being identical with the modern Nāgarī, and Śibi the name of the republic (*Janapada*), or the tribe that lived there. In the present case too, *Agōdaka* refers to the chief town or capital of the republic (*Janapada*), which is being identified by the scholars as the modern town of Agroha, and '*Agācha*' the name of the republic (*Janapada*) or the tribe that lived there.

As far as the identity of *Agōdaka* (*Skt. Agrodaka-Agrotaḥ*) is concerned, there is no doubt of its being the ancient name of the modern Agroha and this has been unanimously accepted by all scholars. But the name of the *Janapada* (country or tribe) is still a subject of discussion and consideration. Rao Bahadur K N. Dikshit thinks that '*Agācha*', the name of the *Janapada*, may be a corruption of a Sanskrit name like Agatya, Agastya or Angatya. Allan suggests Agastya to be the original. Both these scholars refer to the coins of the first group of Rodgers' find (Nos. 22 to 25 of Allan's list) and assume the part of the legend *Agācha-mitasu* as the name of some King, who might be Agastyamitra, connected with the Agastya *Janapada*. Agastya however is the well-known sage and coloniser of the south, and he is not associated with any region in the north. In Rao Bahadur Dikshit's opinion "It is possible that in the manner of south Indian princes, after whom territorial divisions were named, Agastyamitra may have renamed part of Hariyanaka country after himself."² By the way I would mention here that Dr. Barnett has discussed this legend in his paper³ also and his views do not agree with R. B. Dikshit's theory. He has discussed the entire expression *Agācha-mitasapada*, while R. B. Dikshit has ignored the syllable '*pada*', in his discussion and taken '*Agacha-mitasu*' only. Dr. Barnett has interpreted '*mitra-pada*' as allied state or confederate.

1. Allan, *Catalogue*, cxxiv

2. *Proceedings of the Annual meeting of N. S. I.* (1939) p. 10.

3. *Bulletin of the school of Oriental studies*, Vol. X, p. 279.

The most notable thing is that traditionally Agroha is the original home of Agrawals, one of the largest influential trading community of India, and this fact is well established both by epigraphical and literary evidence.

In an inscription from Pabhosa, dated *samvat* 1881, when the name 'Agrawal' was in vogue for this trading community, the donor of a Jain temple, whose descendants are well known upto this day in Allahabad and Arrah as 'Agrawals', has referred to himself as *Agrotakānvaya*.¹ Rajamalla of 16th century, the author of the Jain book *Jambu-Svāmi-charitam*, has stated in his book, that his patron Sahu Todar was *Agrotaka-vanśi*.² And again two other inscriptions, one of the time of Muhammad Shah³ and the other of early 14th Century A.D.⁴ refer to the traders of Agrotaka.

So while discussing the tribe or *Janapada* of Agrodaka (Agroha) we should keep in mind the traditions prevalent among the Agrawal community about their history and origin. I admit that traditions may not be genuine history but certainly they have some substratum of facts. As far as the traditions of the Agrawals are concerned, *Agastya* or *Agastya-mitra* has got no place among them. Another king named Agrasena was the king of Agroha according to the traditions.

Dr. Barnett, discussing *Agācha* in his paper, thinks it to be derived from *Agra-tya* or *Agrat-tya*. He thinks that *Agra-tya* and *Agrat-tya* would become in Prakrit either *Agāchcha* or in some dialect (including the parents of the western Punjabi, Sindhi and Lahandi) *Aggacha*, spelt on our coin *Agācha*.⁵ If it be so, *tya* is suffixed to a noun in order to make adjective of place; and then the root of *Agrātya* will be *Agra*, which would mean 'fore' and *Agrātya* fore most and if read with the word *janapada* (country) would mean foremost country, or the 'eastern country.' But this theory of Dr. Barnett does not give quite a suitable sense here. *Agācha* should refer to the name of Janapada as 'Sibi' does on the Nagari coins; it should not qualify it, or point to its direction.

Dr. Panna Lall and Dr. V.S. Agrawala think that *Agācha* is a term derived from the word 'Agra'; they hold it to be the name of a tribe, but are unable to identify it. As for the name of the tribe, I think they may be correct in their assumption, for in the *gotra-prakaranā* of Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*,

1. *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 234.

2. I. 94. I owe this reference to Dr. V. S. Agrawala.

3. *I. A.*, Vol. XI, p. 341. I owe this reference to Dr. V. S. Agrawala.

4. *E. I.* Vol. I, p. 98-94. I owe this reference to Dr. Parmatma Saran.

5. *Bulletin of the School Oriental Studies*, Vol. X, p. 278.

there is a reference of a tribe named *Agra*.¹ A patriarchical word *Agrāyana*, derived from *Agra*, is also mentioned in the Baudhāyana's *Mahāpravarakāṇḍa* among Nidhruva Kāshyapa.² Moreover, the name of the town Agrodaka itself denotes that there might have been some tribe named *Agra*, after whom it has been named; *Agrodaka* would be the tank of the *Agras*. The ruin of a big tank, with a traditional story, still exists at Agroha to support its ancient name. In Alwar State, in a village named Macheri, there is an inscription on a tank, known as *Agravalon ki Bawri*, which refers to the donor as the resident of Agranagar (town of Agra); which is nothing but Agroha. Thus, it can be safely assumed that there did exist some tribe named *Agra* and I submit that *Agācha* is the Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit *Agreya* derived from *Agra*.

In the *Mahābhārata*,³ as pointed out by Dr. S. Vidyalankar, there is a mention of the *Āgreyas*, who were the neighbours of the Bhadras, the Rohitakas, and the Mālavs, whom Karna defeated during his western expedition. The Bhadras, the Rohitakas and the Mālavas are well known tribes of the Punjab. Rohtak of the Rohitakas is a well known town even now; it is situated a little to the south-east to Agroha. The Bhadras were a little to the west, and the Mālavas in the lower part of the Ravi, near Kot Kamalia. To this day, a part of the Punjab is known as Mālvā, south-east of the Satlaj. We may, therefore, venture tentatively to connect the modern Agroha with *Agreyas* of the *Mahābhārata*.

According to the legends prevalent among the Agrawal community, Alexander the Great besieged Agroha and a fierce fighting took place, innumerable warriors being killed on both sides. At the end of the war the wives of the warriors of Agroha burnt themselves according to the rite of *Sati*, prevalent in those days.⁴ Quintus Curtius refers to a fierce

1. 4. 1. 99;

शरद्वच्छनुक् दर्भात् सृगुवत्साप्रायणेष्ु । 4. 1. 132.

2. This information I owe to Dr. V. S. Agrawal.

3. भद्रान् रोहितकांश्चैव आग्नेयान् मालवान् अपि ।

गणान् सर्वान् विनिर्भित्य नीतिकृत् प्रहससिच ॥ III. 255-20.

Dr. Satyaketu Vidyalankar, in his Hindi book *Agra-āl Jāti kī Prāchīna Itihāsa*, points out that some of the editions of the *Mahābhārata*, especially Calcutta editions, read आग्नेय instead of आग्नेय । The later editions, based upon the Calcutta editions, too have the word आग्नेय. And that is why Mr. Sorenson in 'Index to Mahābhārata' has referred to आग्नेय. But in the Nirṇaya Sāgara edition, we have आग्नेय. आग्नेय gives no sense here.

4. ब्रह्मचारी ब्रह्मानन्दः श्री विष्णु अग्रसेन वंश पुराण (भूत खण्ड) पृ० ४९-५२

fighting between the Greeks and the Agalasseies. a tribe in Punjab, and says that when the Agalasseies could not resist, they burnt their houses and thus killed their women and children.¹

These two statements have much common in them and must be containing a substratum of truth. They have led me to think that Agalasseies might have been none but the people of Agroha.

According to Diodorus (xvii-96), the Agalasseis were a tribe of the Punjab, who were the neighbours of the Siboi, i. e. Sibi. The Sibis dwelt in and about Shorkot in Jhang, possibly extending to a long distance to the north-east of Jhang. The distance between Agroha and the river Ravi, which is the eastern frontier of Lyallpur district on the east of Jhang, is now about 170 miles. This at first seems to forbid us to identify these Agalasseies with the people of Agroha, but the difficulty is not insurmountable. Both the Sibis and the Agalasseis were in Alexander's time large tribes; they mustered 40,000 foot and 3000 horse² and probably occupied spacious areas extending beyond Shorkot and Agroha and possibly including between them the part of Montgomery district which now separates Jhang from Hissar. Thus it may easily be suggested that the Agalasseis are the same as the people of Agroha.

Dr. Barnett also identifies Agalasseis with the Greek plural form of prakrit word *Aggal*, and suggests it to be synonymous with *Agācha janapadas*³. But I think it more probable that *Agācha* should be a prakrit form from of the Sanskrit *Agrēya*.

To conclude, the legend *Agodakā Agācha Janapadasa* therefore means (the coin) of the republic of the Agreyas of (the city of) Agodāka.

Now, it will be convenient to look back to *Agācha* and trace the philological link between it and *Agreya*, as suggested by me. It is very difficult to say anything with confidence about colloquial changes in a word-form current two thousand years ago. Under the well known quantity law of comparative philology, a preceding vowel is lengthened if a succeeding double consonant is changed into a simple one, thus *prishṭha* through *paṭṭha* becomes *pāṭha*. Similarly *Agācha* should be *Agacheha* in its original form. And here we must remember again that in Prakrit *cchs* are often changed in *jja* and vice

1. Mc. Crindle—*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 232.

2. Mc. Crindle—*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 280.

3. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. X, p. 282.

versa. So *Agācha* may be derived from *Agāja*. Sanskrit suffix-*eya* is changed into-*jja* i. e. *Akerya*=*Akijja*; *Anadey*=*Anijja*; *Ageya*=*Agijja*; *Kosheya*=*Kausejja*; *Dheya*=*Dhijja* etc. Therefore, *Agreya* first became *Agajja* and then *Agacca* or *Agācha*. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gauri Shanker Hirachand Ojha, agrees with this suggestion and accepts the possibilities referred to above.¹

[In support of the view of the writer that in the term *Agācha* an original *ja* has changed into *cha*, it may be pointed out that in the *Paiśāchī* dialect, which was current not far from *Agrodaka*, third and fourth letters are changed into their corresponding first and third letters respectively. Compare, Hemachandra, *Prākṛita-bhāṣyam*, VIII. 4.325; *Paiśāchike tritīyachaturthayorādya dvitīyau*; thus *jaṛjaram* becomes *char-charam*, *jīmuta*, *chīmūta*, *nirjāra*, *niechhara*, etc.

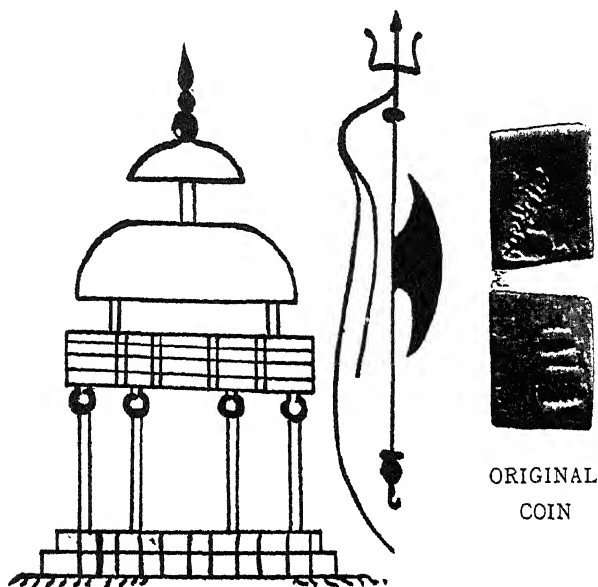
I may also suggest another derivation of *Agācha* in the present legend. If we accept *Agreyān* as the correct reading of the passage in the *Mahābhārata*, it would appear that there was a tribe named *Agreya* in the Punjab. This tribe may have been connected with *Agrodaka*. *Agrodaka* itself is a derivative name and means a waterstore or tank at *Agra*. So it is not impossible that the original name of the locality may have been only *Agra* and the *Janapada* of the town may have been known as *Agratya Janapada*, which may have later been changed into *agachcha* and *agācha Janapada*. The town in the mean while may have changed its name into *Agrodaka*, but the *Janapada* may have continued to be known by a name connected with its earlier and shorter form. The meaning and derivation suggested here for *Agacha* are not quite convincing; there is an obvious tautology in the expression *Agrodakāt Agratya Janapadasya*. I am however putting forth this derivation before scholars for consideration in view of the known existence of the *Agreyas* in the Punjab. *Editor, A.S.A.*]

१. 'अगाच' 'आग्रेय' का मूल रूप हो सकता है और "अगाच" "अगच" अथवा 'अगज' का विकृत रूप। यह किस नियम अथवा सिद्धान्त से हो सकता है, यह बताना कठिन है, क्योंकि उस समय की भाषाओं का कोई व्याकरण इस समय उपलब्ध नहीं है। इस सम्बन्ध में हम केवल अनुमान का ही सहारा ले सकते हैं। In a private correspondence with the author.

A NOTE ON AUDUMBARA TEMPLE COINS.¹

BY. S. V. SOHONI, I. C. S., F. R. N. S., PATNA.

In the wake of the retreating Yavanas, some small communities, gaining political liberty, rose into temporary prominence in the Punjab. Of these the Audumbaras were typical. They lived in the valley of the Beas or perhaps in the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi.² The coins minted by them in the course of their political career are of considerable interest. This note is confined to the study of a building which appears on some of their square copper pieces.³



DIAGRAM

The above diagram is based on an ensemble of available details.⁴ It may be inferred that what is represented is a type and not a particular building. Its doubtful portions are few. The design is elegant. The ground floor is a square with two steps on one side.⁵ The pillars (12 in all) contribute one-third of the total height. In space as small as $\frac{1}{2}$ " x $\frac{1}{4}$ " it was not

1. Plate XV in Mr. Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* Cf. Longhurst Chap. IV in "The Story of the Stupa" also.

2. Allan, page lxxxvii.

3. *J. A. S. B.*, 1914, pp. 247-250.

4. Including the coins of the British and Indian Museums and 3 in my possession.

5. Allan, Pl. XV, No. 2.

possible to represent any details of ornamentation. There is an open circumambulatory passage around the sanctum. Perhaps the bulbous pillars etc. were carved with floral patterns or dragons or animals and birds. It was a hill temple and neither a mote-hall¹ nor a two-storied *stūpa*.² The blending lines of wood, slate and brass in shrines standing near a river bend, with extensive views up and downstream, persist to this day and would strike even a hardboiled traveller in the Kulu and the Beas valleys.

In the third Act of the *Pratimā* of Bhāsa, we find prince Bharata searching a suitable place to take rest before entering Ayodhyā. He sees a temple from a distance and decides to rest there for a while. He is however surprised to notice that outside that temple there should have been no weapon (*praharaṇam*) or banner (*dhvaja*) to announce the name of the deity worshipped inside.³ Alongside the Audumbara hill temple, however, we see a *dhvaja* and a trident and battle-axe (*praharaṇam*). For this reason I dare say that it was a Saivite temple.⁴

While the heavy rainfall on the Himalayan slopes made it necessary to have slanting roofs, I submit that the perfection of the spherical roof with its cupola (*śikhara*), pinnacle (*śikhā*), filial (*śikhānta*) and apex (*śikhāmaṇi*) was also reached.

The community which worshipped in such shrines not merely had a series of three or four powerful kings of its own.⁵ It had a prosperous commerce and trade⁶; and its members made donations to the Sanchi *stūpas* near Vidiśa.⁷

Prof. Tarn writes that the Kuṇindas and Audumbaras 'had been somewhat affected by the Greeks'.⁸ Probably, this influence was with regard to their coinage and trade. That the Greeks worshipped their own gods in India and in temples built after their Attic style is understandable; the well-known legend '*kariśiye nagara-devatā*' is a proof of this—particularly because the '*devatā*' represented was Greek and not Indian.⁹ However, at the earliest opportunity, along with the Yavana, his gods which circulated with his currency, were also sought to be displaced.

1. K. P. Jayaswal-*Hindu Polity*, Part I, p. 161.

2. Allan, p. 122.

3. Cf. कस्य नु खलु दैवतस्य स्थानं भविष्यति । नेह किञ्चित् प्रहरणं ध्वजो वा बहिर्विहं दृश्यते । भवतु प्रविश्य ज्ञास्ये ।

4. J. A. S. B., 914, pp. 247-50.

5. Allan, pp. 122-3.

6. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria & India*, p. 239.

7. Cf. Cunningham "*Bhilsa Topes*", p. 239, p. 400, etc. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. 96.

8. Tarn, page 235.

9. Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, page 26,

But on not a single Indo-Bactrian piece could be found the figure of a building where attempt was made to represent the third dimension. In fact, in that respect, the temple coins of the Audumbaras are unique in ancient Indian coins.¹ I suggest that perhaps the early Roman² temple coins obtained in trade, led to the adoption of this type.³

[Mr. Sohoni's conclusion that the structure on the Audumbara coins is a Śaiva temple is a very interesting and important one. Cunningham and Banerji had thought that the structure would be a temple (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 68; *J. A. S. B.*, 1914, pp. 247-50). They had however failed to realise that there was a significant connection between the building and the trident-battle-axe banner standing in its front. The passage in the *Pratimā*, to which Mr. Sohoni has first drawn our attention in this connection, makes it quite clear that we must interpret the building with the help of the banner. Bhāsa probably flourished some centuries later than the Audumbaras, but there is evidence to show that the custom of having a significant banner in front of the temple was fairly common also during the period in which these Audumbara coins were issued. It is well known that Heliodorus, the Greek ambassador at Vidiśā, had erected a *Garuda-dhvaja* in front of the temple of Vāsudeva in that Malava capital towards the end of the second century B. C.

This Śaiva Shrine on the Audumbara coins will be one of the earliest representations of a Hindu temple; it bears a general resemblance to the sculptural representation of temples to be seen at Bharhut and Amaraoti (See Pl. XXXIV A in Havell's *Handbook of Indian Sculpture* and Fig. 145 in Coomarswami's *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*). We may therefore well conclude that early Hindu temples had domes rather than spires. Editor—A. S. A.]

1. Cf. the outline of the building on Sohguara Copper Plate No. 7, Figure 1 of Numismatic Supplement XLVII, *J. A. S. B.* [It is not certain whether the two buildings on this copper plate are temples or granaries. *Editor*, A. S. A.]

2. It is probably to this period that the similarity between *Mānasāra* and Vitruvius has to be assigned.

3. Of course, the *stūpa* outline appeared on the coins very much earlier; and this dynasty might have put the temple instead. But I am stressing the depiction of relief.

A CHHATTRA TYPE COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

BY J. K. AGARWAL, CANNING COLLEGE, LUCKNOW.

The following coin which was obtained from a gold-smith in Gorakhpur district by my friend Babu Keshri-chand Jaria is published on the basis of a plaster cast preserved in my collection. The original coin is said to have been sold to a private gentleman in Calcutta.

It is a specimen of Chhattra Type coin of Chandragupta II and is a new variety of class II of that type.



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Obverse:—King standing left without a halo, offering with his right hand a pearl necklace or a beaded garland on an altar having a top cut in the form of petals; left hand of the king rests on sword hilt. Behind him an attendant holding a parasol. Legend *Ksitim avajitya*.....

Reverse:—Goddess (Lakshmi), nimbate, standing left on pedestal, holding fillet in right hand and lotus in left. Legend *Vikramādityah*.

The chief interest of this coin lies in the offering which the king is casting on the altar. Usually it is incense, but in the present specimen we feel obliged to identify the object so distinctly represented either as a pearl necklace or as a garland of small round beads.

[The usual description of the standing king on Gupta gold coins as offering incense on altar does not really hold good in all cases. What is described as altar resembles a *Tulasī-vṛndāvana* in some cases (Allan, Pl. II. 4), and a *Siva-linga* in others (*Ibid*, Pl. I, 14; Pl. VIII, 4, 5 and 8). What is offered is not always incense; it resembles a round *puroḍāśa* (offering) in many cases; see Allan, Pl. I, 2-3; Pl. II, 9; Pl. VIII. 3. In the last mentioned coin, we see five *puroḍāśas* falling down in two rows in the fire on the altar. In the present coin their number is 10 and they are falling in two rows. As beaded garlands or pearl-necklaces are not known to have been offered on altars, we may rather suppose that what we see on this coin as also on Allan Pl. VIII, 3, is *puroḍāśas* falling from the king's hand in two rows. It is true that usually only one

puroḍāśā is offered at a time to the deity invoked. But in the *viśiṣṭakṛitā* offerings, offered at the end of most sacrifices, a number of deities are invoked together and several *puroḍāśās* are offered to them at one time. In the *viśiṣṭakṛitā* offerings at the end of the *Chāturmāseshī*, eight *puroḍāśās* are offered together at one time; their number is ten in the case of the *Pavitreseshī*. There is therefore nothing improbable in ten round offerings falling from the hands of the sacrificing king on the present coin. *Editor, A. S. A.*]

THE BAJAUR HOARD OF 1942.

BY MAJOR GENERAL H. L. HAUGHTON

In the early summer of 1942 a hoard of coins was brought to light in Bajaur, the tract of independent tribal territory lying between the valley of the Kunar River and the Panjkora River; this in fact is the country through which Alexander the Great marched and fought on his way from the neighbourhood of Jalalabad to the Swat valley.

The hoard was remarkable for its size rather than for the rarity of the coins it contained and is of particular interest in its relation to a similar find in the same locality in 1926¹. The hoard was apparently in two deposits found close together, the second of which was composed entirely of punch-marked coins and is said to have numbered some 700. Unfortunately a large portion of these coins were, I believe, melted down to make jewellery. The bulk of these coins were of the usual small type, but a considerable number were of the long, heavy, concave variety, weighing about 150-160 grains each.

The larger hoard consisted of some 800-1000 hemidrachms of Menander, Apollodotos, Antimachos Nikephoros and a few of Zoilos. Of these I have examined 114 and they can be classed as under:—

Menander	...	...	87; various common types.
Apollodotos	...	...	7; Square Elephant and bull type.
Antimachos Nikephoros	...	...	17; Mounted King and Nike.
Zoilos	...	...	3 All "ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ".

The only coin of unusual type was one hemidrachm of Menander, similar to the *P.M.C.*, Vol. I, No. 479.

Obverse. Helmeted bust of King to left with thrusting Spear.

Reverse. Pallas to left.

Now it is interesting to note that these coins are of exactly the same types as those found in the previous Bajaur hoard, though in that find there was only one single hemidrachm of Zoilos.

Moreover in both finds a large proportion of the coins seems to have been in practically mint condition.

The following mint marks (*vide P.M.C.* Vol. I.) were included in the coins examined by me.

Menander. Nos. 15, 24, 27, 32, 34, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70 and a few doubtful ones.

Apollodotos. Nos. 3, 43 and 45.

Zoilos. Nos. 67 and one doubtful.

1. *Num. Suppl.*, No. XL (1927) p. 18 ff.

A HOARD OF 3877 BILLON COINS OF THE SULTANS OF DELHI,

BY C. R. SINGHAL, BOMBAY.

This hoard, which is the biggest of all the hoards of this series of coins unearthed so far, was discovered by a ploughman while tilling a field at Triambak on 7th October 1940. Triambak is an important place of Hindu pilgrimage in the Nasik District and is connected with the Nasik town by a road extending over 20 miles. The enquiries made through the local authorities reveal that the land from which the coins are discovered, belongs to the *Panchas of Udashi Akhada*, i. e. Trustees of the Hermitage of the sect of *Udasis* and due to the age of the coins it is not possible to connect this hoard in any way with this hermitage which may not be of a very long standing. Most probably it was carried by some wealthy and religious minded pilgrim for distribution among Sadhus at Triambak, but the real object of the owner cannot satisfactorily be explained.

The hoard weighs about 1300 tolas and it contains the coins of three rulers belonging to three different dynasties of the Sultans of Delhi, viz. Balban of the Turks, Alauddin Muhammad Shah of the Khilji and Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq Shah I of the Tughlaq dynasties. In this hoard, there are 694 coins of Balban, 3,089 of Alauddin Khilji and only 94 of Tughlaq Shah I; their ratio works at the rate of 7:33:1 respectively.

The most interesting feature of the hoard is that the collector has particularly picked up only one variety of coins issued by these three rulers, i. e. the King's name on the reverse in Persian in a circle surrounded by Devanāgarī legend in the margin. (Vide *D. M. C.* No. 244, 342 & 464); although during that period other varieties of coins issued by these rulers could also be had.

Dates and Types.

(1) 694 coins of Balban bear no date and the type and weight are the same as *D. M. C.* No. 244 except that on some coins the legend on the obverse is within two parallel lines at the top and bottom and curves on sides and with an outer circle of dots (vide **Pl. VI**, Nos. 1 to 3).

(2) Out of 3,089 coins of Alauddin Khilji, only 322 bear clear dates ranging from 697 to 711 A. H. The dates

mentioned by Mr. Nelson Wright at page 94 of his Catalogue are 696 to 702, 704 to 711 and 715 A. H. The three coins with dates 696 to 698 A. H. are in the cabinet of the Delhi Museum and the one dated 715 A.H. is in the coin collection of the Punjab Museum, Lahore. In order to verify the correctness of these dates, the authorities of both the Museums were approached and they have been very kind in sending me the plaster casts and ink rubbings of these coins. After careful scrutiny the dates 696 to 698 are taken to be correct though only figure '7' of 697 can be seen, but the date 715 cannot satisfactorily be read as only the first two digits of the date are clear on the coin. Moreover the Curator of the Punjab Museum Lahore does not agree with the reading of this date and says that the last figure is mutilated. Hence it can safely be said that the known dates on this variety of coins are from 696 to 711 A. H. only. In this hoard I have not been able to pick up any coin with date 696, but the date 703 found in this collection and which has not been noticed so far is new and supplies the missing link.

In the Catalogues published so far, the true formations of the numerals of these dates are not shown and all the dates are printed in the modern Devanagari numerals. There is not much difference in the old and the modern figures for most of the numbers, but the formation of figure '9' on the coins is entirely different from the one we see to day. In the accompanying plate, the photographs of the dated coins are arranged in such a way as to show all dates in their original form in order to give a clear idea of their formations. It is interesting to note that the dates 697 to 699 are inscribed without the digit for hundred, a practice which has been followed even till to day.

No new types are noticed in these coins except that the **शु** of **सुलतान** in **PI, VI**, No. 21 is inscribed upside down and is evidently a die-cutter's mistake. **PI, VI**, No. 22 shows complete Devanagari legend, and the obverse legend on **PI, VI**, Nos. 23 and 24 is within the curves on sides and the outer portion forms a dotted circle. This was not noticed hitherto.

(3) There are 94 coins of Tughlaq Shah I and almost all of them are dated 720 & 721 A. H. The type is the same as *D. M. C.* No. 464 and there is no special feature worth mentioning.

Legends.

As already stated, all these coins are of uniform type except that each ruler's epithet is inscribed on the obverse and

his name in a circle surrounded by a Devanāgarī legend in the margin is struck on the reverse, such as :—

(1) Balban. Obverse. السلطان الانظم غياث الدینا والدين
Reverse. In circle بلبن Around.
श्री सुलतां गघासदी

(2) Muhammad Obverse. السلطان الانظم علا الدینا والدين
Shah.

Reverse, in double circle محمدشاه
Around श्री सुलतां अलावदी and date.

(3) Tughlaq Obverse. السلطان الغازی غياث الدینا والدين
Shah I. and date.

Reverse. In circle تغلق شاه
Around श्री सुलतां गयासुदी

While studying these Devanagari legends, one can find out that on the issues of the first two rulers, the Devanagari legend was not so correctly inscribed as on those of Tughlaq Shah I. The word श्री on the first two coins and transliteration of “Ghiyasud-din” as गघासदी on the first coin is wrongly done while both these mistakes are rectified on the coins of Tughlaq Shah I.

A RARE COIN OF GHYASUDDIN TAHAMTAN SHAH

CAPTAIN P. S. TARAPORE-HYDERABAD (DN).

In an article published by Mr. C. R. Singhal in this Journal, Vol. II. pp. 131-2 in which he has written about a rare Bahamani coin, he states that the reading of "Tahamtan Shah" is incorrect and that the correct reading is "Bahaman Shah".

The coin in question was minutely examined before it was published. There can be no doubt about the reading Tahamtan. There are two distinct nuqtas of the 1st and 2nd ت which can be seen in the photographic plate illustrated on the next page. Besides the presence of four nuqtas one cannot overlook the presence of سوشاء of ت between and ن of تهتس which is clearly seen in the previous plate and which Mr. Singhal's scrutiny, I regret to note, has failed to detect. The mere presence of Soshā by itself sufficiently proves that the word is beyond doubt "Thamtan" and not "Bahaman Shah". The difference between the word Thamtan and Bahaman will be clearly and easily seen if a coin of Muhammad Shah I of Ahsanabad or Fathabad (Daulatabad) Mint is compared with that on the plate. In my previous article, I did not attempt to add one more king to the Bahamani Dynasty, as Mr. Singhal suggests, but I clearly observed that the coin was that of Ghyasuddin, who is one of the four kings whose coins have not yet been discovered. Vide Article 234 of *N. S.* XXXVII.

Thamtan Shah appears to be the title assumed by Ghyasuddin on account of his highly developed physique like that of Tahamtan, a Persian Hercules.

Mr. Singhal also points out that "so far as the historical evidence is concerned, no ruler of this name is known to have existed in the Bahamani Dynasty." I do not believe that this is good enough to be taken into consideration. Firstly there were no contemporary historians during the regime of this ruler who reigned only for 6 weeks. Secondly the history was written when the dynasty was becoming extinct, while it is possible that the name Tahamtan was omitted by historians like Farista and others. Numismatic evidence, in a case like this, is more important and reliable than any other historical evidence. This coin has brought to light the title of Ghyasuddin to be Tahamtan Shah, which was not recorded hitherto in history or old manuscripts.

As the title Bahaman Shah was assumed by Allauddin Hasan, it is very likely that none of his successors would have

assumed the same title; if they had wished to take some Persian title, it would have been something other than Bahman Shah.

After the publication of this silver coin of Ghyasuddin Tahamtan Shah Mr. Khaja Muhammed Ahmed of Hyderabad Museum told me that he noticed that the calligraphy of some copper coins resembled that of the coin No. 10 published in the article 234 of *N. S. XXXVII*, and that there were distinct Nuqtas of ت and they were really of Tahamtan Shah and not of Muhammed Shah I, to whom they were assigned.

There is a very clear specimen in my collection which has nuqtas and is written تهمتن شاه as seen in the photographic reproduction below.



Obv.

المؤيد
بنصر الا
ابولمظفر

Rev. in circle.

تهمتن شاه
بن
محمد شاه

The Bahmani coins are distinguished for their bombastic regal titles and the title used by Ghyasuddin and Daud Shah are identically the same on their issues. Similarly the regal title المؤيد بنصر الا ابولمظفر found on the above mentioned copper coin of Ghyasuddin Tahamtan Shah is the same as that found on the copper coins of Daud Shan (and both belong to the year 799 A. H.). This also shows that the coin No. 10 of article 234 of *N. S. XXXVII* must be of Ghyasuddin and not of Muhammad Shah I.

If this view is correct, I would further point out that coin No. 11 which has the same regal title, should be attributed to the ruler who reigned during the period close to 799 A. H. and I am tempted by this evidence of regal title to attribute it to Muhammed Shah II, and not to Muhammad Shah I. All three copper coins namely No. 11, No. 10 and No. 22 of article 234 of *N. S. XXXVII* bearing the same title and of the period in close proximity to 799 or thereabout, if I am not mistaken, belong to Muhammed Shah II, Ghyasuddin Tahamtan and Shamshuddin Daud Shah II respectively.

[The actual coins were shown to Mr. Singhal and he is now convinced that Capt. Tarapare's reading of the name "Tahamtan" and the identification. *Editor, R.G.G.*]

A RĀMA-SĪTĀ SILVER HALF-RUPEE OF AKBAR.

By DR. V. S. AGRAWALA, PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW.
AND

MR. J. K. AGARWAL, CANNING COLLEGE OFFICE, LUCKNOW.

The following half-rupee of Akbar recently acquired from a petty dealer in Agra by Mr. J. K. Agarwal, Lucknow, is unique and worthy of publication.



Metal, silver.

Size, .75".

Wt., 81 grains.

Obverse. Within dotted circle two figures :

(1) A male figure holding bow in left hand, followed by (2) a female figure, both walking to right. The archer wears a crown on the head, a *jāmā* coming up to the knees and a *paṭka* the two ends of which are falling in front and behind severally. A quiver containing a sheaf of arrows is tied on his back. The female figure is holding aloft bunches of flowers both in her left hand in front and in her right hand at the back. She is wearing a close fitting bodice fastened tightly at the waist and a loose *lāḥga* falling down to the ankles.

Legend in Devanāgarī characters at the top rim between the two figures reads : रामसी य)

Reverse. Within plain circle and flowery back ground the following legend :

۵۰
امداد

There is a gold half-muhar of a similar type in the British Museum¹ dated in the month *Farwardin* of the regnal year 50. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole writing about this coin says, "Another gold coin, without the name of the mint bears a curious

1. B. M. C. *Mughal Coins*, p. 84, No. 172, pl. v.

representation of a crowned archer, with stretched bow and sheaf of arrows followed by a woman, who draws back her long veil from her face. This may refer to the submission (in A. H.) 1013, the date of this coin) of the king of Bijapur which was accompanied by the gift of his daughter to be the bride of Prince Daniyal, Akbar's son". The *B. M. C.* specimen is without the Devanāgarī legend, and we do not think that the reference to the historical event of the marriage of the daughter of King of Bijapur with Daniyal at all satisfactorily explains the two figures. The description of the veil on the head of the female figure is also not justified by the actual specimen. There is another specimen illustrated in *P. M. C.* of Mughal Emperors (Pl. XXI, fig. ii, original in Cabinet de France) on which the two figures are said to be Sītā and Rāma (*ibid*, p. 431) on the basis of the legend *Rāma-Sīya* in clear Devanāgarī script. There can be no doubt that the couple on the obverse represents the epic hero Rāma and his devoted wife Sītā since the legend on our latest specimen also reads रामसीय. The gold coin of Rāma-Sītā type is one of the rarest varieties of the Mughal coinage; in silver it is unique. The substitution of the dialectical form *Sīya* in place of *Sītā* is also worthy of note.

A SILVER NISĀR OF SHĀHJAHĀN.

DR. V. S. AGRAWALA, CURATOR, PROVINCIAL MUSEUM,
LUCKNOW.

The following *niṣār* coin of Shahjahān, which formed part of a hoard of 37 silver Mughal coins from Jaunpur district, merits publication :



Metal, silver
Size .94"
Wt. 85 grains

Obverse

قرآن ثانی
صاحب
بنار
سنہ ۱۱ جلوس

Reverse

آباد
اکبر
دارالخلافہ
ضرب
سنہ ۱۶۷۰ ع
ہجری

The coin is noteworthy for two reasons. It is of full size being .94" in diameter, and thus resembling a standard Mughal rupee. Secondly it approximates to the heaviest weight standard (88 grs.) in this class of coins conforming to half the weight of the silver rupee of 176 grains. As Prof. Hodivala has observed, the *niṣār* of 86 or 88 grains are exceedingly rare. (*Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, p. 184). This coin is similar to the large silver *niṣār* of Akbarabād mint in the Cabinet de France published in the *P. M. C.*, (p. 431, Pl. XXI).

The *niṣār* coins are comparatively scarce and their discoveries in treasure troves are even rarer. The best recorded find is from Nadia where in a hoard of 42 coins Mr. Nevill found 13 varieties of *niṣār* coins, all of different dates and representing five different mints of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb (*Num. Suppl.*, XXXII No. 198).

The *niṣār* is a technical term of Mughal numismatics and represents the largesse or distribution money waved round the head of the Emperor or other great personage and thrown among the crowd to scramble for at coronations, weddings, birthdays anniversaries, royal entries and progresses through the great cities or other festive celebrations (Hodivala, *Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Niṣārs, p. 176). *Niṣārs* of the following emperors have been published so far: Jahangir, Shahjahan (being the commonest of all), Aurangzeb, Jahandar Shah (*P. M. C.* No. 889), Farrukhsiyar (*P. M. C.* p. XXV) and Alamgir II (*P. M. C.*, Pl. XXXV., no. 1077). The *niṣār* coins were issued both in gold and silver, although the former are extremely rare, only three specimens, all in the British Museum, being published so far, including two issues of Chīnāpatan (Madras) mint of Aurangzeb (*P. M. C.* pl. XXXV) and one square gold *niṣār* of Jahangir of Ajmer mint (*P. M. C.*, p. 431).

The question of the weight of *niṣār* coins is of some interest. The scale of weight from 11 grains, the lightest *niṣār*, to 88 grains, the heaviest, and the intermediate weights of 22, 33 and 44 grains, stand out as multiples of 11. It must be noted that these weights specially the heavier ones are in most cases only approximately represented in the known specimens.

The graded scale of weight may be explained by the fact that the *niṣār* coin in order to be immediately useful to the person who picked it up, must have been readily acceptable in the market and its relative value determined in terms of the current coinage. The *niṣār* of 85, 86 or 88 grains would pass current for half the worth of a standard Mughal rupee and so its submultiples of 44, 33, 22 and 11 grains possessed definite relative values for practical purposes. This fact also explains the hoarding of the *niṣārs* mixed up with other standard coins. There are also some *niṣārs* which show clear traces of being worn out (Cf. Coin no. 2426 in the *P. M. C.*, wt. 41 grs.), which is another proof of their having remained in circulation.

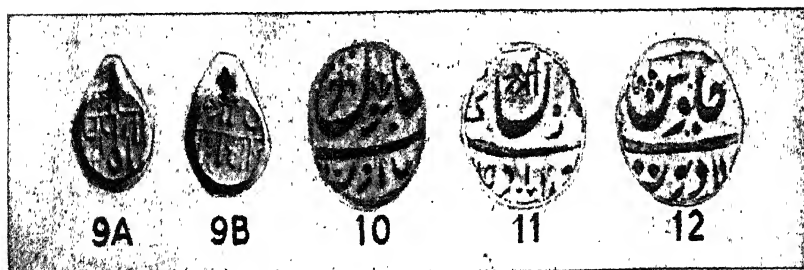
SOME COINS OF THE PESHWAS

BY G. H. KHARE, CURATOR, B. I. S. MANDALA, POONA.

GOLD COINS

Recently Sardar Shankar Sadashiv Natu, an eminent citizen of Poona, brought to me for examination 160 gold coins which were lying with him as heir-loom. Out of these, 3 were the *hons* of Devarāya, a Vijayanagar king, 50 were *hons* of Kṛṣṇarāya, the most widely known Vijayanagar potentate, two were the *haidaries* i.e. gold coins issued by Haidar, the Muḥammadan sultan of Mysore, 71 were the *hons* issued by the Kṛṣṇarāja Oḍeyar of Mysore, 14 were Mughal *muhars* of Aurangzeb and Muḥammadshāh and twenty coins belonged to the Peshwa regime which I wish to describe presently as the same have not been dealt with, so far as I know, anywhere upto this time.

These coins were originally strung together it seems, to be used as a necklace, for each coin has a small ring soldered to it for the same purpose.



Size : 15/32" ; Metal : gold ; Gross weight : 33 grains ;
Approximate net weight : 30 grains (without the ring).

Obverse

श्री
[ग]णपती
[म] शाह

Reverse

श्री
[प]तप्रधान
[म]मिन

Nos. 9 A, 9 B.

Silver coins of this type, but larger in size and heavier in weight, are by no means unknown. For one has been described in the Progress Report of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1918-19, p. 48. Another has been catalogued by myself in a booklet on the coins in the Bhārata Itihāsā Saṁshodhaka Mandala, published by the

Society.¹ My friend Mr. S. A. Jogalekar, M. A., LL. B. of Poona, has a third specimen and it is possible that other persons and societies may be possessing silver coins of the type. But gold coin is a novelty.

In the possession of the ruler of Jamkhadi, a state in the Southern Mahratta country, there are necklaces of such coins. I had a glance at them some six years ago. I was unable at that time to examine each and every coin out of the necklaces very minutely; but the impression I am carrying on since that time is, that the coins do not bear any Persian writing on them and as such those were not meant for currency. On the other hand as the present gold coins have legends exactly similar to those on silver ones these, I presume, were meant for currency.

It is very interesting to compare these coins with Shivaji's *hons* or gold coins.² Both are similar in size and perhaps in weight; both were meant for currency, but never remained current, it appears, for a long time. For both are very rare and I have not as yet come across any document referring to these coins. But here ends the similarity. Shivaji's *hons* bear only the Devanāgarī legend giving his name as well as his titles *Rājā* and *Chhatrapati* meaning that he never acknowledged the supremacy of any other power. But the Shāh 'Ālam's legend on the Peshwa coins clearly shows that the Peshwas acknowledged, at least in theory, the Mughal supremacy. For among Muhammadans, reciting *khutba* and striking coins in the name of a certain ruler are looked upon as the two main characteristics implying the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of that ruler.

THREE TYPES OF RUPEES OF THE PESHWA PERIOD

Some months ago, thanks to the good offices of Mr. Trotman, I.C.S. the then collector of Poona, I had the opportunity of examining 620 silver coins from the Purandare estate which was under the care of the Court of Wards, Poona.³ My scrutiny showed that all of them belong to the Peshwa period and are struck at some Mahratta mints. Out of these 345 bear the marks of the Chandor mint, 184 are the Aukushī rupees, 89 are the Sīr sikkā rupees and 2 are probably the Jaripatakā rupees.⁴

1. p. 24, no. 15; pl. IV, no. 15.

2. *Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhodhaka Maṇḍala* vol. XII, p. 29.

3. By the time I began my scrutiny Mr. Trotman had already presented from the above hoard ten coins each to the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona and to the Reay Industrial Museum, Poona. Thus there were 640 coins in the hoard originally. The 620 coins are for sale now.

4. 55 silver coins from the Bhor state, which I had occasion to examine two years ago, were also found to be of the above three types.

CHANDOR RUPEES

Obverse

شاه عالم

ے

بادشاہ غاز

ی

سکہ مبار

Reverse

مانوس

میمنت

سنہ جلوس ضرب^۵

.....

No. 10

The legends generally found on the two sides are given above. There are three mint-marks on the reverse, out of which an arrow-head pointing downwards is identical with that on a similar coin reproduced on pl. XXVI (No. 10) of the *IMC* vol. IV. The second was found with the following variants.



The third is a sword with its hilt downwards incised in the loop of the س of مانوس. But the most important point is the mint-name. In the above catalogue the mintname has been written as حاندر and read as Chandor.⁶ It may be all right as far as that coin is concerned. But not a single coin did I find in the whole hoard and in those from the Bhore state, the mint-name on which I could read as Chandor or Chandar, even with some difficulty, as is evident from the accompanying reproduction no. 10. I must, however, confess that I failed to decipher the mint-name on these coins.

Besides the mint-marks, I found Devanāgarī letters such as ग, गो, ज, जो, बा, म, मा, बी, सा, etc. and the tiny mark of a Linga with Yoni as well as the mark No. 94 from the chart of marks in *PMC* vol. II. These letters and signs, I suppose, are the marks of bankers impressed to test the metal of the coins.

5. In this and the following type there appears a practically flat curvature just above the mint-name, even when the ب of ضرب is noticed in the upper line and hence the propriety of the same can not be made out.

6. *IMC*, vol. IV, p. 357, no. 5.

1177, 11, 12, 13, 1194, 23, 26, 1199, 28, 1211 are some of the Hijri and regnal years found on these coins; but for want of sufficient data it is better to be silent on the exact period of these coins.

SRI SIKKA RUPEE

Depending on Princep's 'Useful Tables' p. 58, it is stated on page 356 of *IMC* vol. IV, that the coins Nos. 1 to 3 catalogued on that page are probably the Śrī sikka rupees of Poona. After examining the coins from the Bhore state, I published a note on these coins in the Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhodhaka Maṇḍala, vol. XIX, p. 163. I now find that it requires some modifications in the light of the examination of the Poona Court of Wards hoard.

Obverse

شاہ عالم

ے

بادشاہ غازی

ک

سکہ مبارک

Reverse

مانوس

مینٹ

سنہ جلوس ضرب⁷

امین آباد حانہ (۹)

On the obverse of two of these coins, I found the Hijri years 1206 and 1211. While writing the above mentioned note I read the mint-name, though not without some difficulty, as امین آباد and as this was the honorific name of Pālī, the head-quarters of the Sudhāgaḍ subdivision of the Bhore state, I concluded that the coins were struck at that place. But since the examination of the Poona Court of Wards hoard I have become rather diffident about my conclusion. As there is something like حانہ after امین آباد, it cannot be Pālī. One thing is, however, quite certain. These coins do not bear the mint-name Poona. For in that case we would have expected the name محیاباد پورہ as found on the Dochashmī rupee.⁸

I have come across even a gold coin of this type in 1935 when I had been to Bhore; but now, unfortunately, I have neither a cast nor an impression of that coin with me.

ANKUSHI RUPEE

On page 209 of *IMC*, vol. IV, mention has been made of the assertions of the late Justice Ranade and Princep that these coins were struck at Wai (Satara) and Poona respectively. My examination of the coins from the Bhore state and the Poona Court of Wards hoard showed that this view was not correct.

7. With the letter श्री in the loop of س of جلوس.

8. Vide No. 3164 and pl. XIX from the *PMC* vol. II; *Maṇḍalātila Nāṇī* by Mysalip, 23, no. 8 and pl. IV, no. 8. The mint-name on this coin is evidently محیاباد پورہ.

Obverse	Reverse
شاه علی گوهر ⁹	مانوس
ے	میمنت
بادشاہ غاز	سنہ جلوس ¹⁰
ک	ضوب
سکہ مبار	باک و کوت

No. 12

It is evident that the mint-name is neither Wai nor Poona, but Bāgadkot or the modern Bāgalkoṭ (Bijapur). We know that at Bāgalkoṭ were the head-quarters of Sardar Raste's *jagir* in Karnāṭak given to the family by the Peshwas and it is quite normal to find the mint-name Bāgadkot on the coins struck, as surmised by Mr. Ranade, by the members of the Raste family probably at Bagalkot. The name on the obverse is found to be شاه علی گوهر the real name of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, by which he was known before he assumed the emperorship.¹¹

9. Here I must note that د is not joined to ک, the slanting strokes of ک and گ are not to be traced in any of the coins examined and گهر in گهر cannot be read without some difficulty.

10. With the figure of a goat in the loop of س of جلوس.

11. Evidence has, however, come forward to show that Ankushi rupees at least were struck at several places in Mahārāshṭra in 1805 A.D. without the government permit; it was requested to stop such minting at all other places except Poona *Āttikāśika Saṅkirṇa Sāhitya* vol. III, document no. 178). Same was the case with coins of other Mahratta mints also, I suppose. It follows then that the mint-name will not decide the locality where the particular coin was minted. It will at the most show where the coin was used to be struck originally.

LATE PANDIT RATILALJI ANTANI, B. A.

We very much regret to record the death of Pandit Ratilalji Antani at Udaipur on the 6th of July 1942 after a prolonged illness for about four months at the age of 64. The late Pandit Antani was a keen coin collector and an enthusiastic member of the Numismatic Society of India since the year 1916.

After graduating in 1903 he joined the Police Department of the Kathiawar agency. His efficiency in cricket since his college days made him well known in the then sporting world. Junagadh State is well known for her patronage of cricket. Jam Saheb could not miss a sportsman like Ratilal. He was invited to join the state service as Huzur-Shiristedar. He was a member of Jam Ranjit Singhji's own cricket team in 1907.

In 1909 he was invited by Jhalawar Darbar and given the post of Customs Officer. Here his administrative capacity and judicious bent of mind raised him to the post of City Magistrate and Sessions Judge. He accompanied the Maharaja of Jhalawar to Delhi at the occasion of the Coronation Darbar in 1911, where his organizing capacity as Assistant Camp Officer of the Rajputana Camp brought him in closer touch with the rulers. In 1923 he was invited by the Maharana of Udaipur to serve as a member of Mahendra Raj Sabha. Along with his judicial work of the said Sabha he was also entrusted with the duties of the Customs Commissioner of Mewar from 1925. In 1929 he was asked to work solely for the Rajasabha as Secretary and to take to the judicial work. From 1935 to 1940 over and above his work, he was deputed to special duties in connection with the Nathdwara affairs. During 1937-38 besides his duties at Udaipur, he was also burdened with the duties of the administration of the Jhalawar State as "Mushir-i-Khas", while His Highness Rajendra Singhji, Maharaja of Jhalawar, was in England. In 1938 on his reversion to Udaipur he was asked to officiate as Minister and was soon after made one of the ministers of the State Council and placed in charge of the portfolios of Education and Justice.

Throughout his career he was in close association with His Highness the Maharana Sahib and enjoyed his fullest confidence. Off and on he had to discharge special duties of royal trust. Maharana Sahib honoured him by visiting him at his residence during his illness and showed great concern and anxiety for him. But the fatal cancer

of throat to which he fell a pray did not spare him, and he passed away at 8 a. m. on Monday, the 6th July 1942. He leaves behind him a big family including an old mother aged 82. His son Mr. V. R. Antani is assistant to the Director of Public Instruction of Udaipur.

Besides being a sportsman, statesman and administrator, Pandit Antani evinced a great interest in the study of religion, philosophy and medicine. History and Archaeology were his favourite subjects. Epigraphy and Numismatics formed subjects of his special hobby. His knowledge of ancient and mediæval numismatics was very profound. It was both a pleasure and a profit to discuss these subjects with him. With vast reading, accurate knowledge and conversational efficiency he would always create an impression. He was responsible for creating an interest for collecting coins in the mind of His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur, which resulted in the classification of coins in the State Treasury and acquisition of a large number of rare and unique gold and silver coins for the Darbar's collection. This interest developed into an invitation to the Numismatic Society to hold its annual meeting at Udaipur in 1936 under the Presidentship of the Late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. Besides the right royal reception to the members, the Maharana extended his patronage to the Society. The credit of having the Maharana of Udaipur as our first Patron goes to the Late Pandit Antani. Of his numismatic studies, he has left many useful notes: his varied collection of coins numbers over 5000 consisting of ancient Punch-marked, Pathan Sultans, Mughals, Malwa and Gujarat. He specialized in the study of the coinage of the Sultans of Malwa and his collection contains many rare and unique issues of these dynasties.

We are glad to learn that his son Mr. Vinubhai has now taken up the study of numismatics and his late father's collection forms the nucleus for his cabinet. Late Pandit Antani began his study and collection of coins as early as 1906 and kept his interest up till he breathed his last. Even during his illness he would not leave his hobby. For a number of years he served on the Managing Committee of the Numismatic Society of India.

By his death the Society has really lost a very useful and enthusiastic member. May God bless his soul and bestow on it the eternal peace.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PATRAHA (PURNEA) HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

By E. H. C. Walsh, I. C. S. (Retd.), London.

Brief contents

(References are to the numbers of paragraphs unless otherwise indicated.)

SCOPE OF THE PAPER: Comparative study of Patraha hoard of Punch-marked coins in the light of other hoards, 1; Nature of its contents, 2-3.

THE OLDER CLASS OF COINS; Marks on their obverse, 5-8; New obverse marks, 9-10; Marks on their reverse, 11; Obverse marks occurring on the reverse, 12; Later reverse marks, 13-15; Classes and varieties of coins, 16-18; The single coin of Class I, 19; Notes on the classification of coins, 20-27; Comparative table of identical varieties in different hoards; pp. 21-5 Mark 52 as showing identity of varieties, 28.

THE LATER COINS; The Six-Armed Symbol and its new varieties, 29-35; Coins not bearing the Sun and the Six-Armed Symbol, 36; Description of Pl. VII., 37; Three Human Figures and some other marks, 38-40; Reverse Marks and the description of their tables, 41-42; Principal Marks and Countermarks, 43; Same Obverse with different Reverse Marks, 44; Principal Reverse Marks,—Taxila, 45, Hill-Crescent, 46-49; Peacock, 50; Caduceus, 51-2, Four Taurines and another Mark, 53-4; Observations on Countermarks, 55; Their varieties,—Triskelis, 56, Animal on Pole, 57, Tree in Railing, 58, Crescent-Cross, 59, Banner, 60, Double Trident, 61, Hour-Glass, 62, Taurine, 63, Trident-Cross, 64, Three Human Figures, 65; Varieties on which different Principal Reverse Marks occur, 66; Principal Marks as Mint Marks, 67-8; Varieties not bearing any Principal Mark, 69; Small Hill-Crescent as a Reverse Mark, 70; Shroff marks on Later Coins, 71; Notes on some other Reverse Marks, 72-3.

§ 1. The Patraha Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins has been catalogued and described by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharyya in Memoir No. 62 of the Archæological Survey of India, 1940, "A Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins from Purnea."

As Mr. Bhattacharyya notes in the Preface:—

"The hoard of 2873 silver punch-marked coins which forms the subject matter of the Memoir was discovered at Patraha in the Purnea district of Bihar in 1913. Enveloped in a mass of conglomerate it was lying in the bed of a small river, which had been scoured by water, and the majority of the pieces had to be extricated with some difficulty. The coins were cleaned under the supervision of the late Mr. R.D. Banerji who, as Treasure Trove Officer of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, had received them for examination from the Collector of Purnea through Dr. D. B. Spooner of the Archæological Survey of India. In 1914, Mr. Banerji undertook to prepare a catalogue of the coins, but unfortunately the manuscript left by him was found incomplete in many respects and it became necessary to rewrite the whole in the light of a fresh study."

Of the 2873 coins, 1703 have been examined and classified by Mr. Bhattacharyya, the remaining coins being hopelessly damaged or too indistinct for identification.

In 1919, as Mr. R. D. Banerji had not, up to then, made his examination, the Government of Bihar and Orissa, through Dr. D. B. Spooner, asked me to undertake the examination of the coins. But I was not able to do so, as I was then leaving India. But I saw the coins, which were then in deposit with Mr. Banerji in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The delay, however, has been all to the good. More is now known about Punch-marked coins than was then known, and Mr. Bhattacharyya's complete record of these coins has the advantage of Mr. Allan's classification and description of the Punch-marked coins in the British Museum,¹ which Mr. Bhattacharyya (p. iii) has followed as far as possible.

It might appear that, after Mr. Bhattacharyya's full description of these coins, there is little more to be said about them. But every fresh hoard of Punch-marked coins furnishes additional material for the study of these coins, as the present paper will show.

The following Notes are not a review of Mr. Bhattacharyya's Memoir²; they are independent inferences and conclusions from the material which it provides in the Classified List of the Coins with the record of the Marks on them, and especially from the coins themselves as shown in the photographs of the 331 coins which are illustrated in the Plates; and also, in the case of the coins of the Older Class, from comparison with the hoard of punch-marked coins found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila, which Mr. Bhattacharyya had not been able to refer to, as it had not been published at the time when he wrote the Memoir. The conclusions in certain cases differ from those of Mr. Bhattacharyya. The coins themselves are in the Patna Museum and are available to decide.

1. *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* by John Allan, M. A., F.S.A. 1936. This is hereafter referred to as, B.M.C. (British Museum Catalogue).

2. I may draw here the reader's attention to the following mistakes and inaccuracies in the Memoir:—

p. 20. Coin 369 is omitted in the List of Coins.

p. 35. Coin 677: (Reverse Mark) 76 would appear to be a mistake for 67 which is the Mark on all the other Coins of that Variety VIc.

p. 74. Coin 1435 shown as "Pl." is not illustrated on the Plate (XI).

p. 74. Coin 1437 is not shown as "Pl." but is illustrated on Plate XI.

p. 93. Coins 589-602 are omitted in Group Vh. The numbers "587-588" should be "587-602" (see pp. 80, 81).

THE PLATES

Plate IV. The example of Mark 139 is given as coin 84. That coin is not illustrated. The example of Mark 136 is given as "83, 1079." The Mark does not occur on coin 83.

Plate XI. Coin 1568—The Obverse and Reverse of the coin are transposed on the Plate.

The purpose of the following Notes is to place on record for future reference facts obtained from the combined examination of the coins of the Patraha Hoard, the two Bhir-Mound Hoards, and other Hoards which are mentioned, and the Punch-marked coins in the British Museum. There is so little outside evidence with regard to Punch-marked coins that our knowledge of them is almost entirely derived from the coins themselves. For this reason, it is easy to draw inferences from the coins and to form conclusions and theories from them which the actual facts do not warrant. It is, therefore, important to place on record all ascertainable facts, and any theory, which is not in accordance with those facts, cannot be maintained. For this reason even minor details, such as the correct identification of an identical Mark, which may be differently described in different accounts, is of importance; as the correct classification, identification and consequent inferences depend entirely on the correctness of the Marks on which it is based.

One point which requires further investigation is the occurrence of the same variety of the Six-Armed-Symbol on Varieties of coins of both the Older and the Later Class, which are separated by a considerable interval of time; and also the occurrence of different varieties of that Mark on coins on which the other four Marks are the same, indicating different issues of the same coinage. But this will be considered separately.

§ 2. The Patraha coins show a number of new Marks, and some new Varieties in already known Groups of coins, in which the varying Fifth Mark is different. But, with the exception of the single coin shown as Class I, they do not furnish any fresh Group of coinage that has not been already recorded, or anything that might be considered to be a Local Coinage. It supports conclusions already drawn from previously known hoards, and is of special interest, as it contains the largest number of the Later Class of Coins, which are of the Mauryan Period, that has yet been found, and thus furnishes more examples of the Fixed Groups of Marks on the Reverse of those coins. It also shows several varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol on those coins, which, although they occur on the Older Class of coins, have not hitherto been found on the Later Class of coins.

Mr. Bhattacharyya gives the references to the corresponding coins in Mr. Allan's Catalogue of the British Museum Coins, and to the coins published by Mr. Durga Prasad in *Numismatic Supplement No. XLV*.¹ Mr. Bhattacharyya has not, however,

1. Classification and Significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India.—By Durga Prasad; *Numismatic Supplement No. XLV*. 1935. pp. 5-60; with 31 Plates.

had the opportunity of referring to my examination of the Hoard of 1171 of the Older Coins found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila, in Memoir No. 59 of the Archaeological Survey of India,¹ as it was published shortly before the publication of his examination of the Patraha coins. Of the Bhir-Mound coins, 33 are Long-Bar Coins, 79 are Minute Coins, and the remaining 1059 coins are Silver Punch-marked Coins of the Older Class.

I therefore refer to the results obtained from these coins for comparison with the Patraha coins of the Older Class, and for conclusions on various points.

§ 3. The Patraha Hoard, as in the case of the Garho-Ghat² and Machhuatoli,³ and several other hoards, contains coins of the Older Type of the Larger Thin coins, and the Later Type of the Smaller Thicker coins of the Mauryan Period, and thus, as in the case of those coins, shows the long continuance in circulation of the Older coins.

Apart from the difference of their fabric, these two classes of coins are distinguished by the difference of their Reverse Marks, and it is on this basis that Mr. Bhattacharyya has based their classification. As he notes (p. iii) "Class II contains coins, all of which have one regular stamp and one or two countermarks on their reverses. These stamps are boldly impressed and are of the same size as those on the obverse. Some of them, e.g. Nos. 10, 86, occur both on the obverse and the reverse. In this class there are 12 groups, some of which are found in this collection for the first time. The coins of Class III have got numerous small punches on the reverse, none of which has any connection with the obverse marks. This class, divided into 9 groups, comprises 57 varieties, some of which are also new."

More than two-thirds of the coins are of the Later Class. These are shown in Class II, comprising coins Nos. 1 to 1361, and are divided into twelve Groups. But from these must be excluded the 167 coins of Group XI, varieties c—h, and Group XII, varieties a—f, which, as shown below, are of the Older Class, leaving a total of 1194 coins of the Later Class. There are therefore, including the 4 Miscellaneous coins, 73 Varieties both of the Later Class and of the Older Class.

1. *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*—By E. H. C. Walsh—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 59, 1939, 164 pp.; with 48 Plates.

2. An examination of Fifty-eight Silver Punch-marked coins found at Garho-Ghat; By E. H. C. Walsh, *J. B. O. R. S.* 1919, pp. 463-494.

3. Notes on Two Hoards of Silver Punch-marked Coins, one found at Ramna and one at Machhuatoli—by E. H. C. Walsh, *J. B. O. R. S.* 1939, pp. 91-117.

THE OLDER CLASS OF COINS.

§ 4. The Older Class of the coins are considered first. As already noted, certain coins shown under Class II, (which consists of the Later Class), in Groups XI and XII, are coins of the Older Class. The distinctive Mark of each of these Groups, namely an Animal with another animal in its mouth (Mark 57), the distinctive mark of Group XI, and A Hill with a Tank below it (Mark 8), the distinctive mark of Group XII, occur on both the Older and the Later coins. Group XI, Variety c, however, occurs in the Older Class of coins in the Machhuatoli Hoard (Specimen coin No. 14);¹ Variety d bears Marks which all occur on the Older coins; and the variety and number of the Reverse Marks, which also all occur on the Older coins, show them to belong to that Class; and Varieties f and h bear the same group of Marks as occurs on coins of Classes B (e) 2, and B (e) 1 respectively of the Older Class of Coins found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila which shows them to be coins of that Class. That Hoard is dated at about 317 B. C.²

Similarly, Varieties a—d of Group XII bear the distinctive Mark 73, of a Hill with a Tank beneath it and a *damaru* above, which only occurs on the Older Class. Varieties a, b, c, d are the same as Classes D3, D2, D1, and D5 respectively of the Bhir-Mound coins.

Varieties e and f do not bear the distinctive Mark 73 of this Group, and constitute a separate Group. They do not occur in the Bhir-Mound coins. That they are of the Older Class is shown by their Reverse Marks and by the size of the eight coins which are illustrated (Nos. 1329 to 1350).

The B.M.C. shows the Taxila Mark on one of the coins of Variety X, b, (No. 5, p. 55), which is the same as Patraha XII, f, which would show that coin to be of the Later Class. But the Mark on the coin (Pl. X, 4) is entirely different from any variety of the Taxila Mark, and consists of three separate Marks, which each occur on the Bhir-Mound coins; the Ball-and-Crescents is Bhir-Mound Reverse Mark 14g, the tree above it is Bhir-Mound Rev. 70d, and the Mark below it is Bhir-Mound Rev. 266.

THE OBERSE MARKS

§ 5. The Obverse Marks (Nos. 1 to 134) shown on Mr. Bhattacharyya's Plates I and II, including varieties,

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1939, p. 115.

2. *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila* by E. H. C. Walsh, P. 1, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 59, 1939.

amount to 169. They include those which occur on the coins both of the Older Class and the Later Class. As will be seen from the List of the Patraha Coins, some of them occur only on the coins of the Older Class, some on both the Older and the Later Class, and some only on the coins of the Later Class. Sixty-two occur only on the Coins of the Older Class; fourteen on both the Older and the Later Class; and ninety-two only on coins of the Later Class.¹

Mark No. 103 is not shown in the List of the Coins. It appears to be a part of Mark 24.

THE SIX-ARMED SYMBOL ON OLDER CLASS OF COINS

§ 6. The Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol occur on all the coins with the exception of the 76 coins of Class II, Group I, varieties c to g, Group II, varieties c, d, e, and Group III, varieties a and b. These would appear to be the Latest of the coins, when those two hitherto universal Symbols had been discarded. It will be seen that certain varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol occur on coins of different Groups. In the case of the Older Coins (Class III), Variety 2, the marginal



symbol occurs on one coin (1696) of Group IXa, and is shown with a query on the other three coins of that Group, but cannot be made out on the coins. This variety of the Mark is uncommon on the Older coins and only occurs on five of the Bhīr-Mound coins. On the other hand, it is the commonest form on the Later Coins and occurs on 737 of the Patraha coins of Class II, and on all the 167 Bhīr-Mound coins of the Later Hoard, on which the Mark can be made out; and on 286 of the British Museum coins of the Later Class (B.M.C. Classes 1 to 5). Variety 2a



in the margin is the commonest form on the Older Coins and occurs on 241 Patraha coins in six Groups. It occurs on 642 of the Bhīr-Mound coins, and 2a which is a Variety of the above Mark occurs on 10 coins of Class III, Group Ia. Variety 2o occurs on

1. The Marks which occur only on the Older Class of the coins are:— Nos. 2a 1, b, g, n, p, r, s, u, v, w, x, z, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 18a, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 35, 36a, 46, 47, 48, 62, 64, 65, 66, 71, 78, 74, 75, 77 to 80, 82, 83, 84, 91, 95, 101, 103, 106, 110, 123, 125 to 129, 130, 131, 134.

The Marks which occur only on the Later Class of the coins are:— Nos. 1, 2, 2a, i, j, 23, 27, 36, 42, 57, 67, 86, 87, 89, 124.

The Marks which occur only on the Later Class of the coins are:— Nos. 2c, d, d', e, f, f', h, k, l, m, o, q, t, y, 3, 4, 5, 7, 14, 15, 16, 16a, 17, 29 to 34, 37 to 41, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50 to 56, 58, 59, 60, 60a, 63, 68, 69, 70, 72, 76, 81, 88, 90 to 94, 96 to 100, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 111 to 122, 132, 133.

the 74 coins of Class I^r Group XI, c, d, f, h¹. Variety 2s occurs on the 33 coins of Class II, Group XII, a, b, c, d.² Variety 2b occurs on 23 coins in Class III Groups I, III and VII. Variety 2j occurs on 17 coins³ of Class III Group If, and VIII, a, b, d & f. Variety 2i on 13 coins of Class III, Groups V, b and VI, a to d. Four Varieties occur on only two coins, namely 2g (Class III, Group VIII, e and Miscellaneous); 2r (Class III, Group I, c); 2u (Class III, Group I, b and Miscellaneous); and 2w (Class III, Group VIII, d). And Five Varieties occur on only one coin of the Class III, namely, 2n (Miscellaneous); 2p (Group VII, g); 2v (Group IV, i); 2x (Group VIII, h); and 2z (Group VIII, c).

§ 7. Mr. Bhattacharyya notes (p. v) that eleven varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol, namely, 2d, 2g, 2k, 2l, 2o, 2p, 2q, 2s, 2v, 2y, and 2z, are quite new. Six of them occur on the Patraha coins of the Older Class, namely 2g, 2p, 2q, 2s, 2v and 2z. Two of these, however, also occur on the Bhir-Mound coins: 2g=Bhir-Mound Mark ld; and 2s=Mark lo. Only three of the varieties on the Older Class of the coins, therefore, are new; as variety 2o, which occurs on the Patraha coins of the Later Class, also occurs on the Older Bhir-Mound coins,=Mark lu. Varieties 2d² and 2l, as noted in § 28 and 29, should be excluded.

Thus we have only seven new varieties, viz. 2p, 2q, 2v, 2s, and 2z on the Older Class, and 2k and 2y on the Later coins.

There are also twelve additional varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol on the Bhir-Mound coins (Marks lg, lhh, lj, lk, lm, ln, lp, lq, lr, ls, lt and lv) which do not occur on the Patraha coins; also B.M.C. Variety 13 (p. xviii); and four Varieties shown by Mr. Durga Prasad on N. S. Plate 26, Nos. 16, 18, 23 and 25, two of which occur on coins which he has illustrated:—No. 16 (Pl. 12 No. 38) and No. 18 (Pl. 13, No. 43). There are, therefore, at least fortyfive known varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol.

OTHER OBERSE MARKS

§ 8. The identity and the classification of punch-marked coins depends on the obverse marks. It is therefore essential that every mark should be definitely ascertained. In some cases only a portion of a mark appears on the coin, and in cases where the complete mark does not appear on any of the coins,

1. This mark occurs on 180 coins and on varieties b-h of this group, *Editor*, A. S. A.

2. This mark occurs on 31 coins only of this group and on varieties a-c only. On variety d of two coins the mark is doubtful. *Editor*, A. S. A.

3. The number of coins on which this mark occurs is 25. *Editor*, A. S. A.

it has to be determined from the different portions of the mark found on separate coins. Some of the marks on the Patraha coins occur in complete and more distinct form on the Bhir-Mound coins, as noted below.

- (a) Mark No. 49 in the margin is shown on Miscellaneous coin No. 1354 of the Later Class II,



which coin bears the distinctive Mauryan Hill-Crescent Mark. Mark 49, as shown above, is the upper part of mark 11, Hare-on-a-Hill, which is a distinctive Mark on coins of the Older Class and occurs on the coins of Class III, Group IV, and is also the distinctive Mark of 485 coins (Class A) of the Bhir-Mound coins. The coin is illustrated. The animal has no upturned tail, as is shown in the Mark, and the hind-quarters of the animal are distinctly rounded, and the mark appears to be the same as Mark No. 44, an Elephant-on-a-Hill, as on the preceding coin No. 1353. The Mark of a Hare-on-a-Hill does not occur on any of the Later coins so far known.

- (b) Mark No. 65 in the margin (coins 1701-02) is an incomplete Mark. The complete Mark is as is shown on the Bhir-Mound coins (Mark No. 46) on three of which it occurs; and on the Machhuatoli Coins (Mark No. 46).




- (c) Mark No. 74 in the margin is shown as on coins 1610-1613 (Class III, Group IV, 1). Two of the coins are illustrated; on neither of them do the two Taurines at the top appear. This Mark should be without the two Taurines at the top, in which form it occurs on the 14 of the Bhir-Mound coins, Class A, 6, which is the same as the above variety, and on which the Mark is clear.




- (d) Mark 77 is not the marginal one. It occurs on three coins (1685, 1686, 1687, Class III, Group VIII, f.), which are illustrated. These coins also bear the Mark (No. 137) of a Fish swallowing a smaller Fish. The Mark



should be  It occurs on 8 of the Bhir-Mound

coins, 4 of which are the same as the above variety of the Patraha coins. This Mark only occurs in conjunction with the Swallowing Fish.

- (e) Mark 110. This Mark is shown as  (a

Snake). It is shown on the 5 coins of Class III, Group II, var. C. Coins 1414 and 1416 are illustrated; only a part of the Mark appears on the coins. It is also shown on the 6 coins of Class III, Group IV, f, of which coins 1564 and 1568 are illustrated; the Mark on the coins is incomplete. These two varieties are, respectively, the same as Bhir-Mound Class C2 and A5. The Mark occurs on 35 of the Bhir-Mound coins in two varieties

 (42a) and  (42b). In each variety

the object is of the same thickness throughout and with blunt ends, and has no "head" as in Patraha Mark 110. The object does not appear to be intended for a snake. Both these Marks occur among the Signs on the seals found at Mohanjodaro.


- (f) Mark No. 123 in the margin, Four Fishes in a Tank with an Island in the Centre, is shown with a query on coin 1361 (Class II, Miscellaneous) of the Later Class. The coin is illustrated; only part of the Mark appears on the coin, but it is distinctly not No. 123, which is a Mark found only on the Older Class of Coins, and is so shown on the Older coins 1362 to 1374. It occurs on 46 of the Bhir-Mound coins (Class M), always in connection with the Rhinoceros.



- (g) Mark 124 should be  and Mark 125 

The objects are shown on the Plate of Marks as fish, as also in the British Museum Catalogue. Their form, however, as noted in paragraph (h) below differs from that of fish in other Marks than those mentioned. Mark 124 occurs in Class II, Group IV h and i, and Group Vd, and Mark 125 in Class III, Group VIIIi. Mark 124 (Bhir-Mound 8a) occurs on 29 of the Bhir-Mound coins on several of which it is clear; and Mark 125 (Bhir-Mound 8b) occurs on 7 of the Bhir-Mound coins. Mark 124 is indistinct on most of the Patraha coins, but it is clear and complete on coin 1578, on which the difference of these objects from the "fish" can be seen. And the rounded ends

of what would be the "tail" in a fish are clear in Mark 125 on coins 1689 and 1694. Both these Marks also occur on the Later Coins; Mark 125 occurs on the Patraha Later coins (Class II, Group X a to h) on coin 885, of which the Mark is clear on the rounded ends in place of the fish's "tail", and the projection of the "fins" at right angles and not sloped-back, can be seen.

- (h) Mark 126 in the margin is described as "composed of three fishes round a central circle (Vide *N.S.* No. 58 Pl. 26)." This Mark is the same as  Bhīr-Mound Mark 48. The Mark occurs on three Patraha coins (Nos. 1701-1703), which are illustrated; it is clear on 1701. The three objects will be seen to differ from the "Fishes" which occur in some of the other Marks. These objects also form part of Patraha Marks Nos. 2g, 8, 124, 125 and 128, in which they are also shown and described as "fish". All these Marks occur on the Bhīr-Mound coins (Marks *j*d, 9c, 8a, 8b and 8c, respectively), on which they are clearer than on the Patraha coins. It will be seen that the object differs from the "fish" in that the fork at the end is rounded in contrast to the pointed tail of the "fish", also that the other end is rounded in contrast to the pointed head of the "fish", and also the two projections on either side are at right angle to the body and not sloping backwards as in the case of the fins of the "fish". Compare, for example, the object in Mark 124 on coin 885, and in Mark 125 on coins 1689 and 1694 with the "fish" in Mark 123 on coin 1363. The object appears to be aquatic, as is shown by its being found in an enclosure, which would appear to represent a Tank, below the Hill in Mark No. 8, and similarly in Marks 124 and 125; and in Mark 128, which is an incomplete Mark and is indistinct on the Patraha coins but is clear on the Bhīr-Mound coins, these two objects are surrounded by an object which is either a water-snake or an eel, as noted below. To distinguish this object from a fish, I have called it a "Beetle" on the Bhīr-Mound coins. This object has also been considered with reference to the British Museum coins.¹

- (i) Mark 128 is shown as  on coins 1689 to 1695,

1. Notes on the Silver Punch-marked coins in the British Museum—by E. H. C. Walsh, *J. R. A. S.* 1937 (pp. 620-21).

three of which are illustrated. The Mark is seen on the top edge of coin 1689, but is indistinct on the other two coins. The Mark is incomplete as is shown by the corresponding Bhir-Mound coins on

which the Mark is complete and clear, and is



- (j) The mark in the margin, a Fish with a Loop on either side, occurs and is clear on Coin 1695 (Group VIII, var. i). This mark is not shown in the Plate of the Patraha Marks. Mark 128, which is shown on the above coin, does not appear on it. This coin constitutes a new Variety.





The Obverse Marks on the Later coins (Class II) are considered separately with reference to those coins.

NEW OBTVERSE MARKS

§ 9. The new varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol have been already noticed. The following Obverse Marks are also noted by Mr. Bhattacharyya (p. vi) as being new ; Nos. 36a, 40, 41, 44, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 59, 71, 72, 76, and 77. Mr. Bhattacharyya notes (p. v) "Symbols 36a and 48 are particularly interesting from the fact that up to this time no animal turned to the left has been found on punch-marked coins. Symbol 36a looks exactly like a cow ; the other animal may be a hare"

As regards Mark No. 36a, which occurs on coin 1684, the thick rounded protuberances on the head of the animal differ from horns as they are always represented on punch-marked coins. They resemble the ears of the animal in Patraha

Mark 48,  on Miscellaneous coin 1700, as does also the shape of the body ; the tail of the animal is outside the coin 1684, Var. VIIle, but is on coin 1700 ; and, as Mark 13, shown on coin 1684 and Mark 25, shown on coin 1700, are the same, as will be seen from the coins which are

illustrated, and are  (Bhir-Mound Mark 18a), those two coins are of the same Variety VIIle.

Animals turned to the left occur on other coins. The above Marks occur on the Bhir-Mound coins (Bhir-Mound

Mark No. 30), on which also a Hare turned to the left occurs (Mark No. 31), and also as a Reverse Mark (Mark No. 199).-

The Humped-Bull turned to the left occurs on four of the Golukhpur Coins¹ (Mark No. 6), and also as a Reverse Mark. It also occurs (Mark 3c) on one of the Bhir-Mound coins, and also as a Reverse Mark. It also occurs on 23 of the Paila coins of the Pre-Mauryan kingdom of Kōśala,² which have been published since Mr. Bhattacharyya's Memoir. It also occurs on them as a Reverse Mark. It also occurs on a coin from that area illustrated by Mr. Durga Prasad (N.S., XLV. No. 10, Pl. 3).

The Elephant turned to the left occurs on 11 of the Golukhpur Coins (Mark No. 9), and on 359 of the Paila coins, on which it also occurs as a Reverse Mark.

§ 10. The Horse (Marks No. 53 and 59):—Mr. Bhattacharyya notes (p. vi.) "The horse has not been found up to this time but some coins of the present collection bear representations of two different species of this animal (symbols 53 and 59)."

Although the horse has not hitherto been found as an Obverse Mark, it occurs as a Reverse Mark (No. 196) on the Bhir-Mound coins.

Mark No. 77. As already noted in § 6(d), this Mark is not as it is drawn. The actual Mark is not new.

THE REVERSE MARKS ON THE COINS OF THE OLDER CLASS

§ 11. The Reverse Marks on the Older Coins are the Marks of bankers and shroffs through whose hands the coins passed during the course of their circulation, and are of the usual character.

Reverse Mark No. 148—Mr. Bhattacharyya notes (p. vi.) "Symbols 148 and 160 are quite new." Mark 148 occurs on one coin (No. 1309) which is of Class II, Group XII, var. 6, which, as already noted in § 3 and § 4, are coins of the Older Class. This Mark, however, also occurs as a Reverse Mark (Mark No. 166) on one Bhir-Mound coin of Class D2, which is the same as Patraha Class II Group XII, var. 6, as noted in the Table in § 26. The occurrence of this same Reverse Mark on those two coins is very interesting, as it shows the circulation of the coins of those two varieties in the same area, and still further confirms their identity.

1. An Examination of a Find of Punch-marked Coins in Patna City, with reference to the Subject of Punch-marked Coins generally, by E. H. C. Walsh, *J. B. O. P. S.* 1919, pp. 16-72, 4 Plates.
2. Paila Hoard of Punch-Marked Coins by E. H. C. Walsh, *J. N. S. I.*, 1940, pp. 15-78, 7 Plates.

OBVERSE MARKS WHICH OCCUR ON THE REVERSE OF COINS OF THE OLDER CLASS.


§ 12. Certain Obverse Marks occur, in a smaller size, on the Reverse of the Older Class Coins of Patraha, Bhir-Mound and the B.M.C. In the case of the B.M.C. coins, they do not occur on the coins which bear that Mark on the Obverse; but they do so occur on 2 of the Bhir-Mound coins, where we have the Bull (Nos. 347 and 629) and on 5 of the Patraha Coins, where we have (a) The Elephant, on one coin, and (b) The Bull, on 4 coins. They may be Marks authorising the circulation of the coin in the area represented by that Mark, or may be Official Testing Marks.¹

- (a) The Elephant occurs on the reverse of 5 Patraha coins of 3 varieties,—Mark No. 216 on coin 1458; No. 217 on coin 1603; No. 218 on coins 1107 and 1166; and No. 219 (facing to left) on coin 1503.

Mr. Bhattacharyya notes (p. vi) “Elephant (Symbols 215-217, 219), bull (symbol 220) and deer (?) (Symbols 221 and 222) are the animals that are found punched on the reverse of some coins of Class III only, symbol 218 (Elephant) occurring on two coins (1107 and 1166) of Class II”, namely of the Later Class.

Coin 1166 is of Class II, Group XI*d*, which, as already noted in § 3, is of the Older Class. Coin 1107 is not illustrated, but its Reverse is noted in the List of the Coins as “218 and other disfigured marks”, from which it appears that this coin (Class II, XI*b*) also is of the Older Class. The Elephant has hitherto not been found as a Reverse Mark on the Later Coins.

- (b) The Bull (facing right) occurs on the reverse of one Patraha coin (1366). It also occurs on one Bhir-Mound coin. The Bull (facing left) occurs on one Patraha coin (1503). It also occurs (Mark 195*b*) on one Bhir-Mound coin (No. 347).

- c) Mark 62 in the margin occurs on the reverse of 14 coins in 8 Varieties on two of which it also
 occurs on the Obverse of 2 coins (1390, 1609).

This Mark does not occur on the Reverse of the Bhir-Mound coins, but occurs on 2 B.M.C. coins (No. 8, p. 61 and 1, p. 82).

- (d) Mark 67 in the margin occurs on the reverse of 4 coins of varieties IXa and IXb, on all of which it also occurs on the Obverse. This Mark does not occur on the reverse of the Bhir-Mound coins, but occurs on one B.M.C. coin (No. 46 p. 72).



- (e) Mark 27 in the margin occurs on the reverse of 4 coins in 3 varieties. It also occurs on 3 of the Bhir-Mound coins, and on 3 B.M.C. coins (22, 23, p. 68, and 48, p. 72).



- (f) The Bow-and-Arrow, Reverse Mark 192 in the margin, occurs on 4 coins in 4 varieties. It does not occur as an Obverse Mark on the Patraha coins, but occurs as an Obverse Mark on the Bhir-Mound coins. This Mark is distinct from the Bow-and-Arrow with a Taurine (Mark 109) of the Later Coins.



- (g) The Double-Trident (Mark 23) in the margin occurs on the reverse of 2 coins (1468, 1590). It does not occur on the reverse of the Bhir-Mound or B. M. C. coins.



Also two other Obverse Marks, the Undulating-Line (Mark 110), the Two-Beetles (Mark 125), and the Fish-swallowing-a-smaller-Fish (Mark 131) occur on the reverse of the Bhir-Mound coins; as also three other Obverse Marks which do not occur on the Patraha coins.

LATER MARKS ON THE REVERSE OF COINS OF THE OLDER CLASS

§ 13. Many of the Older Class of Coins have been subsequently restamped on the Reverse with a small Mark of the Hill-with-Crescent, which is a distinctive Obverse Mark of the Later Coins. The Mark is shown in four varieties, Variety 144a is smaller than 144; in 144b the Arches are narrower and taller, and Mark 144c is shown as though it were punched into the coin, *intaglio*. Mark 144c is shown on 5 coins (Nos. 1375, 1389, 1414, 1439, 1440 and 1586). Only Coin 1414 is illustrated; the Mark appears to be 144a, of very small size. Mark 144c does not occur on the B.M.C. coins, and, if it occurs on the other two Patraha coins, it would appear to be a different Mark.



144a. 144b. 144c. 144d.

In most cases the number of coins in the particular Variety is too small to enable any conclusion to be drawn as to the proportion of the coins on which this Mark has been stamped, but out of the 106 coins of Group IIIb, six bear Mark 144, six bear 144b, and two 144c. The Variety, in which the proportion of the coins which bear the Mark is the largest, is Class II, Group XIh, in which 17 out of the 27 coins bear Mark 144; and Class II, Group XIc, in which also 17 out of 27 coins bear Mark 144a, both of which Varieties are of the Older Class, which shows that this Mauryan Mark was subsequently stamped at a later date.

The Mark appears to be either a Mark authorising the later circulation of the coin, or merely a Mark of the subsequent testing of the coin. The comparative sharpness of the subsequently stamped Mark over the worn out earlier reverse marks on the coin may be clearly seen on the following coins:—Mark 144 on coins 1362, 1378, 1437 and 1620; Mark 144a on coins 1380 and 1689; Mark 144b on coin 1679; and Mark 144c on coin 1389.


The Mark does not occur at all on the coins of the Older Bhir-Mound Hoard which was deposited in Pre-Mauryan Period. As twenty six of the Varieties of the Patraha coins on which the Mark occurs are the same as coins of the Bhir-Mound Hoard, on which the Mark does not occur, this fact confirms the conclusion that whenever this Mark occurs on coins of the Older Class it has been stamped on them later at a Mauryan Date.

§ 14. Mark 60



an Animal on a Pole in a Rail,

which is both an Obverse and a Reverse Mark on the Later Coins, is shown on 11 of the Older Class of coins in 9 Varieties. Three of these coins (1378, 1653 and 1684) are illustrated. The Mark on 1378 is distinct and is not Mark 60,

but is ; it is not complete on 1653 and may be Mark 27;

and on 1684, on which the Marks are clear, this Mark does not appear. To clear the matter up, however, the Patna Museum has kindly furnished me with casts of coins 1441, 1442, 1628, 1630 and 1638, on which Mark 60 is shown. The Mark does not occur on coins 1441, 1442 and 1430, but it is clear on coins 1628 and 1638. The Mark does not occur on the Bhir-Mound coins, and must have been subsequently stamped on the Older Class Patraha coins, as an authorising or testing Mark, in the Mauryan Period.

§ 15. Reverse Mark 141a, Three Human Figures in a Row, is shown on two coins. Mr. Bhattacharyya notes (p.73) "Coins 1453 and 1454 have got, along with other punches, three human figures in a single stamp on the reverse." Coin 1453 is illustrated and bears that Mark. On coin 1454 the Mark is entered in the List of the Coins as 141, namely, Three Separate Human Figures, which may therefore be a misprint. I have obtained a cast of the coin from the Patna Museum. The Mark on the coin, which somewhat resembles a single human figure is a different Mark. Mark 141 is also shown on coins 1385 and 1630, which are not illustrated. I have obtained casts of those coins from the Patna Museum. The Mark of Three Figures in a Row appears on coin 1385. Three Human Figures in a single stamp (Obverse Mark 113) or in three separate stamps (Obverse Mark 112) are found both on the Obverse and the Reverse of the Later coins, which do not bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol, as noted in § 35—37. This Mark has not hitherto been found on coins of the Older Class, though a mark of a single Human Figure occurs. It would appear that the Mark 141a was subsequently stamped on the coin 1385 during its circulation in the Mauryan Period.

These two Marks on the Later Coins are considered in § 65.

THE CLASSES AND VARIETIES OF THE COINS

§ 16. Mr. Bhattacharyya writes (p. iii) that "The coins of this hoard have been broadly divided into three classes. Only one coin belongs to Class I. Class II contains (coins) all of which have one regular stamp and one or two counter-marks on their reverses. These stamps are boldly impressed and are of the same size as those on the obverse. Some of them, e. g., 10, 86, occur both on the obverse and reverse. In this class there are 12 groups comprising 85 varieties including some which are found in this collection for the first time...The coins of Class III have got numerous small punches on the reverse, none of which has any connection with the obverse marks. This class divided into 9 groups comprises 57 varieties, some of which are also new."¹ As far as possible, he has followed the arrangement of Mr. Allan's Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum, and has followed him in trying "to show how the different groups and varieties of each class are linked with one another by some obverse or reverse symbols."

1. Class II, Varieties XI c—h, and XII a—f, are of the Older Class as noted in § 3 and 4. There are, therefore, 75 Varieties of the Later and 71 Varieties of the Older Class, including the 4 Miscellaneous.

§ 17. The essential character of Punch-marked coins is that they contain a fixed group of four Marks (or their variety) and a Fifth Mark which varies. Consequently the same Mark in the same Group of coins has the same significance. The relative order of the Marks in the List of the Patraha coins is changed in several cases. This tends to obscure the continuity and the significance of the Marks.

For example, in Class II, Group I, Mark 43 is shown as the Fifth Mark in variety b and as the Second Mark in variety c. And Mark 60, which is shown as the Fifth Mark in Group I, varieties c and d, is shown as the third mark in Group II, varieties c and d, and as the fourth Mark in Group III, variety b.

To take another example:— In Group XI, Mark 57 is shown as the Fourth Mark in variety a, as the third in varieties b to g, as the fourth in variety h, and as the fifth in variety i. The Mark must have the same significance in each case, and to show this, its relative position should therefore be the same in each case.

§ 18. Mr. Bhattacharyya notes 27 varieties as being new. Of these six are of the Older Class of Coins, namely, the single coin of Class I; and Class III Groups IIId, IVi, Vc, VIc, and VIIId. Of these, however, Groups Vc, and VIc also occur on the Bhir-Mound coins, Classes A21 and A29 of those coins. There are, therefore, four new Varieties of the Older Coins. The remaining 21 varieties are of the Later Coins (Class II), and it is with regard to the Later coins that the Patraha hoard furnishes such a great amount of new material.

With the exception of the single coin of Class I, the new varieties consist of the variable Fifth Mark being different from the Fifth Mark hitherto found together with that group of the other Four Fixed Marks. Some of the new varieties of the Later coins differ only in having a different Reverse Mark, the Obverse Marks being the same (e. g., Class II, Group V, vars. a, c, e; and vars. b, d.)

§ 19. The only entirely new coinage in the Patraha hoard is the single coin of Class I. As will be seen from the tracing in the margin, it bears the Sun and the Six-armed-Symbol of the Patraha variety 2h, and three other Marks:—a



long Almond-shaped object, an Oval object with a thick oval rim round it, and a round-shaped Mark with dots in the centre which is over stamped by the Sun. The Reverse bears indistinct traces of six small faint Marks. It is a coin of the Older Class.

NOTES ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS

§ 20. Class III Group I actually comprises three distinct Groups. Varieties a, b, c, which bear the distinctive Mark of the Rhinoceros (No. 35), form a separate Group IA. It corresponds to Class M of the Bhir-Mound Coins, of which there are 47 coins. These coins are amongst the oldest of Punch-marked coins. The great length of their circulation will also be seen from the number of Marks on the Reverses of the Patraha coins 1362, 1363, 1366, and 1367, which are illustrated.

Variety d is unconnected with other Varieties and should be included among the Miscellaneous Coins.

Variety e is the same as Group VII, variety f and should be transferred to that Group and Variety.

Variety f is shown as bearing Marks 36, 21 and a Query. The coin (1377) is illustrated. Mark 36 is clear, all other Marks on the coin are confused and indistinct. It appears to be a re-struck coin. It should be included among the Miscellaneous Coins.

Varieties g and h bear the distinctive Mark (No. 9) of a Hill with Taurines and are respectively the same as Classes J2 and J1 of the Bhir-Mound coins and form a separate Group IB.

§ 21. Class III, Group IV, varieties h and i differ only in bearing a different variety of the Six-Armed-Symbol. This shows that they are different issues of the same coinage, which is the same as Class A4 of the Bhir-Mound coins.

§ 22. Class III Group V comprises two separate Groups. Variety e does not bear the Hare-on-Hill, which is the distinguishing Mark of Groups III, IV, V and VI, and it, therefore, constitutes a separate Group. This Variety does not occur in either the Bhir-Mound or the B.M.C. coins. It is similar to B.M.C. Class 6, Group Vh, but the Six-Armed-Symbol on that coin is the one in the margin, which occurs on the Bhir-Mound coins, but does not occur on any of the Patraha coins.



§ 23. Class III Group VII contains two distinct Groups. Varieties a to f, and i which bear the distinctive Mark of a Hare (No. 46 and 47) form one Group VIIA. Variety i consists of one coin (No. 1659) which is illustrated. The Marks shown on the coin in the List of the Coins are 1, 2b, 45, 28, 26. The Marks on the coin, however, are 1, 2b, 47, 129, 42. Only part of Mark 47, namely, the ears and the upper part of the back of the Hare appear along the top right-hand edge of the coin. This is the mark which

is shown in the List of the Coins as Mark 26, a Leaf, which is only shown on this single coin ; Mark 129, a Fish between two Taurines, is down the left-hand side of the coin ; Mark 42, the Elephant, is along the bottom of the right-hand edge of the coin. Mark 28, a Palm Tree, does not appear on the coin. This Variety is the same as Class B d1 of the Bhir-Mound coins and is not, therefore, a new Variety as noted by Mr. Bhattacharyya.

Varieties g and h bear the distinctive Mark (No. 22) of a Tree with Taurines, and form another Group VIIIB. These two varieties are the same as Bhir-Mound Class Q 6a.

§ 24. Class III Group VIII actually comprises four separate Groups. Varieties a to d, which bear the distinctive Mark (No. 13) a Hill with a Tree on it, form one Group, VIIIA. They are the same as Class L1, L2, L4 of the Bhir-Mound coins.

Variety e, though it is shown in the List of the Coins as bearing Mark 13, does not bear that Mark. The coin (1684) is illustrated ; the Hill portion of that Mark does not appear on the coin, only the branch. The Mark is Mark 18 in the margin.

The coin is the same as Bhir-Mound class Q4 on which that Mark is clear, and forms a separate Group VIIIB.



The animal facing to the left is also clearer on the Bhir-Mound coin.

Varieties f and g, do not bear the Hill with a Tree, and in its place bear the distinctive Mark 131 of a Fish swallowing a smaller Fish. They are the same as Class N1 and N3 of the Bhir-Mound coins, and constitute a separate Group VIIIC.

Varieties h and i form another Group, the distinctive Mark of which is a Plain Hill (Mark 6). The Hill with a Tree on it (Mark 13) is shown on the single coin (1688) of this Variety. The coin is illustrated ; the Mark on it is clear, there is no Hill below the Branch, and it is clearly Mark 18. These Varieties are the same as Bhir-Mound Class I3 and I1 of the Bhir-Mound coins, and form a separate Group VIIID.

§ 25. Class III Group IX, Variety b, the Mark of a Hill with a Tree on it (No. 13), is shown with a query on the three coins of this Variety. Two of them (1697, 1698) are illustrated. That Mark does not appear on either of the coins. These coins also bear Mark 84, in the margin,



which does not occur on any of the other Patraha coins (Group VIII a—d) which bear Mark 13, nor on any of the Bhir-Mound coins (Class L), of which the distinctive Mark is the Hill with a Tree on it. The Marks on the two coins illustrated are indistinct except Mark 84, which is the distinguishing Mark of this Group. As noted by Mr. Bhattacharyya (p. 92), the Variety agrees with Group VIIla (p. 84 B.M.C.) of the British Museum coins, which also do not bear Mark 13. Mark 84, and these two Patraha Varieties (IX a, b) do not occur in the Bhir-Mound coins.



§ 26. Class II Group XII, shown under the Later Coins, but which, as already noted, is of the Older Class, comprises two distinct Groups. Varieties a to d bear the distinctive Mark, shown in the margin, (Patraha No. 8) of a Hill with a Tank beneath it and a *Damaru*, or Indian Hand-drum, above. They are the same as Class D of the Bhir-Mound coins. Varieties e and f do not bear that Mark, and constitute a distinct Group, which is the same as B. M. C. Class 2, Xb.

§ 27. The Table on pp. 101—105 shows the Varieties of the Older Class of the Patraha coins which also occur in the Bhir-Mound coins, and the coins of the British Museum, and in the Ramna Hoard,¹ and a Hoard of 105 Punch-marked coins found in the United Provinces in 1916.²

The Machhuatoli hoard, not being completely published, is not included in the accompanying table, but it may be pointed out that the following Patraha Varieties also occur on certain specimen coins of that Hoard:³—Class II Group XIc on Specimen Serial No. 14; Group XIIh on Serial Nos. 9 and 15; Group XIIa on Serial No. 12; Class III, Group IIIb on Serial Nos. 5—8; and Group IIIh on Serial No. 13. And it is probable that several other Varieties also occur on the 750 coins of that Hoard that were acquired.

The Table is printed on the following five pages, 101—105.

1. *J.B.O.R.S.* 1939 pp. 91-171, p. 100.

2. Examination of a Hoard of 105 Silver Punch-marked coins found in the United Provinces in 1916. by E.H.C. Walsh, *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. III, 1941.

3. *J.B.O.R.S.* 1939 p. 100.

Table Showing The Identical Varieties of The Coins of The Older Class of The Patraha and The Bhir-Mound Hoards, The British Museum, and The Ramnā, and The United Provinces 1916 Hoards.

Serial No.	Patraha		Bhir-Mound		B. M. C.		Ramnā		United Provinces Hoard 1916.	
	Class, Group and Variety	No. of Coins	Class and Sub-Class	No. of Coins	Class, Group and Variety	No. of Coins	Coins No.	No. of Coins	Coin Nos.	No. of Coins
	Class II				Class 2.					
1	XI c	20	...	...	VII h	6	...	...	...	...
2	XI d	20	...	...	VII k	3	...	...	...	...
3	XI f	7	B. e 2	19	VIII b	1	...	...	...	...
4	XI h	27	B. e 1	2	VII i	1	...	...	...	...
5	XII a	10	D. 3	38	VII c	1	...	...	...	...
6	XII b	14	D. 2	89	VIII d	3	...	...	...	...
7	XII c	7	D. 1	17	VIII e	4	147	1	...	...
8	XII d	2	D. 5	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Class III				Class 6					
9	I. a	10	M. 1	37	I. a	15	...	...	62-64	3
10	I. b	1	M. 5	6	I. c	1	...	...	...	...
11	I. c	2	M. 2	4	I. d	1	6,35	2	...	...
12	I. e	1	B. a 1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...

Table Showing The Identical Varieties of The Coins of The Older Class of The Patraha and The Bhīr-Mound Hoards, The British Museum, and The Ramna, and The United Provinces 1916 Hoards.

Serial No.	Patraha		Bhir-Mound		B. M. C.		Ramna		United Provinces Hoard 1916	
	Class, Group and Variety	Number of Coins	Class and Sub-Class	Number of Coins	Class, Group and Variety	No. of Coins	Coin Nos.	No. of Coins	Coin Nos.	Number of Coins
	Class III				Class 6					
13	I. g 2	J. 2	2	I. g 1	...	...	...	...	...
14	I. h 9	J. 1	10	I. h 2	14	1	...	...	...
15	II. a 4	C. 3	6	II. a 1	...	...	...	...	...
16	II. b 21	C. 1	70	...	...	27	1	15	1
17	II. c 5	C. 2	10	IIb, d 3	...	...	...	...	...
18	II. d 1	C. 5	8	...	...	...	...	19	1
19	III. a 5	A. 23	4	III a 1	16, 29, 41	3	...	...	...
20	III. b 106	A. 1	207	III c 26	1, 7, 9, 17, 32, 34	6	1-5	5	...	
21	III. c 3	A. 31	3	...	...	2	1	...	...
22	IV. a 12	A. 3	30	III b 2	...	...	...	...	...
23	IV. b 6	A. 9	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
24	IV. d 6	A. 7	14	III. d 3	...	...	11	1	...

Table Showing The Identical Varieties of The Coins of The Older Class of The Patraha and The Bhir-Mound Hoards, The British Museum, and The Ramna, and The United Provinces 1916 Hoards.


Serial No.	Patraha			Bhir-Mound			B. M. C.			Ramnā			United Provinces Hoard 1916	
	Class, Group and Variety	Number of Coins		Class and Sub-Class	Number of Coins		Class, Group and Variety	No. of Coins		Coin Nos.	No. of Coins		Coin Nos.	Number of Coins
	Class III						Class 6							
25	IV. f	6		A. 5	16		III. f	2	...	...	12	1		
26	IV. h	13		A. 4	19		III. g	3	13	1	9	1		
27	IV. j	26		A. 2	29		IV. a	9	40	1	3	1		
28	IV. k	1		A. 8	9		III. e	4	31	1	10	1		
29	IV. l	4		A. 6	14		...	...	...	.	6-7	2		
30	V. a	3	}	A. 19	25		IV. b	2	...	..	...	...
31	V. b	3					IV. c	1						
32	V. c	4		A. 21	3		...	..	...	...	...	...
33	V. d	3		A. 24	5		IV. d	1	...	...	...	...
34	VI. a	6		A. 28	6		IV. e	2	...	...	...	...
35	VI. b	1		A. 27	9		...	...	...	...	...	...
36	VI. c	1		A. 29	2		...	...	...	...	...	...
37	VI. d	2		A. 26	2		...	...	...	...	...	...

Table Showing The Identical Varieties of the Coins of The Older Class of The Patraha and The Bhir-Mound Hoards, The British Museum, and The Ramnā, and The United Provinces 1916 Hoards.

Serial No.	Patraha		Bhir-Mond		B. M. C.		Ramnā		United Provinces Hoard 1916.	
	Class, Group and Variety	No. of Coins	Class and Sub-Class	No. of Coins	Class, Group and Variety	No. of Coins	Coin Nos.	No. of Coins	Coin Nos.	No. of Coins
38	Class III VII a	9	B. b 1	18	Class 6 V. a	10	...	...	...	...
					V. c	1				
39	VII c	5	B. b 4	6	V. e	3	...	...	...	...
40	VII d	2	B. b 2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
41	VII f	1	B. a 1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
42	VII g	1	Q. 6 a	1	VI. j	1	...	...	...	...
43	VII i	1	B. d 1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
44	VIII a	15	L. 1	18	VI. a	6	46	1	...	...
45	VIII b	4	L. 2	6	VI. b	2	...	...	...	...
46	VIII d	4	L. 4	2	VI. c	1	44	1	...	...
47	VIII e	1	Q. 4 a	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
48	VIII f	1	N. 1	4	VI. e	1	...	1	...	...
49	VIII g	2	N. 3	1	...	...	42	1	...	...
50	VIII h	1	I. 3	2	...	...	39	1	...	...

Table Showing The Identical Varieties of The Coins of The Older Class of The Patraha and The Bhir-Mound Hoards, The British Museum, and The Ramna, and The United Provinces 1916 Hoards.

Serial No.	Patraha		Bhir-Mound		B. M. C.		Ramnā		United Provinces Hoard 1916.	
	Class, Group And Variety	No. of Coins	Class and Sub-Class	No. of Coins	Class, Group and Variety	No. of Coins	Coin Nos.	No. of Coins	Coin Nos.	Number of Coins
51	Class III VIII i	7	I. 1	7	Class 6 VII. e	2	...	...	...	...
52	Mis- cel- lan- eous- coin (1700)	1	Q. 4 a	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
53	1701	1	Q. 4 b	1	...	...	36	1	...	...
54	1703	1	Q. 9	1	...	...	...	...	...	...

§ 28. In connection with the identity of varieties, it is of interest to note that Mark 95  occurs as

a Sixth Mark on the Obverse of one coin, (No. 1523) of Group IIIc. It is stamped along the edge of the coin. This Mark (Bhir-Mound No. 52) similarly occurs as a Sixth Mark on 17 of the Bhir-Mound coins, of nine different Classes, and

on 4 of the British Museum coins,¹ and, in every case, it is stamped along the edge of the coin, so as not to obliterate the other Marks; which shows that it was subsequently stamped as a Countermark. One of the Bhir-Mound coins which bears this Mark, is of Class A. 31, which is the same as Class III, Group IIc of the Patraha hoard which bears that Mark, which further confirms that coins bearing the same group of Marks, though found in widely separated localities, are the identical coinage of one area, and have also circulated together in the area on which that Countermark has been affixed.

1. *J. R. A. S.* 1938, p. 89, para 28.

THE LATER COINS

THE SIX-ARMED-SYMBOL

§ 29. The Patraha coins show certain new varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol on the Later coins, which have not hitherto been found on them. The variety usually occurring on the Later coins is composed of Three Arrows alternately with three Taurines (Patraha No. 2). It occurs on 675 of the 1194 coins of the Later Class, which bear the Six-Armed-Symbol. It occurs on 44 different Varieties in 8 different Groups. It also occurs on 309 out of the 382 British Museum coins of the Later Class which bear the Six-Armed-Symbol. Variety 2c occurs on 38 coins (Group Xh)¹; 2d on 14 coins (Group Vj); 2e on 6 coins (Group VIe); 2f and 2f¹ on 139 and 13 coins respectively in Groups V and VI, a total of 152 coins; 2h on 21 coins (Group VI b, c); 2i on 33 coins (Group Vi); 2k on 16 coins (Group Vid); 2l on 6 coins (Group VIIh); 2m on 12 coins (Group VII a, b); 2o on 70 of the Later coins (Group XIb) and also on 110 of the Older Class of coins of that Group (Group XI c-h); 2t on 6 coins (Group Xi); and 2y on one coin (No. 1361 Miscellaneous).

§ 30. The Patraha coins contain four new varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol (2k, 2l, 2o, and 2y) not hitherto shown on the Later Class of coins, though Variety 2o occurs on the Older Class of Bhir-Mound coins (Mark 1u) and 2y, which occurs on a single coin (No. 1361), occurs on a coin of the Older Class illustrated by Mr. Durga Prasad (N. S.² XLV. of Pl. 13, No. 43). Varieties 2, 2a, 2c, 2d, 2f, 2f¹, 2h, 2i, and 2t occur on the British Museum coins and on coins illustrated by Mr. Durga Prasad, and also 2e on N. S. Pl. 11, No. 28; 2m on N. S. Pl. 16, Nos. 81, 82; 2q on N. S. Pl. 12, Nos. 39, 40, 41, and Pl. 13, No. 42.

The following Varieties require special consideration :—

§ 31. Mark 2d¹ is shown, as in the margin, composed of three Hour-glasses alternately with three Taurines. This Mark is incorrectly shown. It is shown on a single coin (No. 1356). Only part of the Mark is on the coin, but the Arrow of the Mark is distinct. This variety, if it actually existed, would be the only known



(1) References to Groups henceforward are to Groups of Class II of the Patraha hoard, unless otherwise specified. Coins referred to as varieties Va, Xc, etc. are coins of Class II, Group V, Variety a, Class II, Group X, Variety c, etc. Editor, A. S. A.

2. N. S. = J. A. S. B. 1934. Numismatic Supplement No. XLV. by Durga Prasad, pp. 5—59, 32 Plates; already referred to.

example of the Six-Armed-Symbol of which the Arrow does not form a part. It cannot be said from the portion on the coin what the entire Mark is, but it can be definitely said that at least one Arrow forms part of it; and, as there is no known example of the Six-Armed-Symbol with less than two Arrows, it can confidently be said that the Mark contains at least two arrows. This Mark must therefore be excluded.

§ 32. Mark 2l is shown as in the margin. It occurs on 6 coins (Group VIIh). Three of the coins (708, 710-11) are illustrated. Only a part of the Mark appears on any of the three coins, and the "Hook" as shown does not appear on any of them. It appears to be a Taurine, and the Mark, therefore, is probably variety 2o.



§ 33. Mark 2t is shown, as in the margin. It is shown on 6 coins (924-929) of which 926, 927 and 928 are illustrated. The Mark does not show on coin 926; it shows on coins 927 and 928 but they do not support the drawing of Mark 2t, as they show the Triskelis in separate Ovals, and the Mark appears to be the same as B.M.C. No. 5 (p. xxiii) and N.S. Pl. 26, No. 12.




§ 34. The following two varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol


require special consideration—2f



and 2f¹



In each of these Varieties an animal is one of the six components. It is shown without a tail in 2f and with an upstanding tail in 2f¹, but, actually, the form of the animal is very indefinite. It has hitherto been shown as a Hare with upstanding tail, as in 2f¹, which is the form shown in B.M.C., and it appears clearly in that form on Gorho Ghat coin No. 52, and also on Patraha coin 478 on which the animal is the clearest as , though the Mark is shown as 2f, and as 2f¹ on coin 658. But on B.M.C. coin 40, p. 35

(Pl. XLI. 23, the animal is clear as . These two varieties always occur in combination with the Mark of the "Goat-and-Branch", though that Mark also occurs together with other varieties of the Six-Armed-Symbol. The difference between the two Marks is that 2f¹ has a Fish in place of the "Dumb-bell" in 2f.

Mark 2f is shown as occurring on 138 of the Patraha coins (Group V a, c, e, g, h) and 2f¹ on 13 coins (Group VIa). The Mark occurs on 9 B.M.C. coins (IV h, k, l) in both varieties; as the Fish is clear on Coin 44, p. 36 (Pl. VI, 4).




As Mr. Bhattacharyya notes (p. 24) "Marks 2 and 2f are sometimes difficult to distinguish. As 2f has also got a taurine as one of its six arms, if that part of the symbol which has the taurine flanked on each side by an arrow is found impressed on a coin it becomes extremely difficult to ascertain whether the symbol is 2 or 2f. And thence vars. b, d and f" [which bear Mark 2] "may be the same as, a, c, and e" [which bear Mark 2f] "or b and d may correspond with B.M.C. vars. c and d, pp. 32-34. That both 2 and 2f occur in this group may be verified from the coins 558 and 585 which distinctly show symbol 2." Conversely, it may equally be said that vars. a, c, and e shown as Mark 2f may be vars. b, d, and f, which bear Mark 2. And similarly, where we have only the "Dumb-bell" flanked on each side by an arrow, the Mark may be 2d, which occurs with this same group of Marks in B.M.C., Group XV. vars. e, f, g (pp. 34, 35). It, therefore, cannot be assumed that Mark 2f or 2f¹ occurs on the coins unless the animal portion of the Mark appears.




§ 35. Mark 2o in the margin is shown on seven Varieties (b—h) of Group XI, a total of 180 coins which bear the distinctive Mark of a Dog, or other animal, with a smaller animal in its mouth. Of these, six Varieties (XI c—h) are of the Older Class, as noted in § 3.





This symbol differs from Patraha Mark 2 in having a symbol which Mr. Allan and also Mr. Bhattacharyya describe as a "dumb-bell" and show in the form of an "hour-glass", in place of one of the Taurines, and the identification of this Mark depends on this symbol and one Taurine being on the coin. If one, or two, Taurines only appear, it may be Mark 2; with Three Taurines, and if only the "Dumb-bell" appears, it may be mark 2d of Three "Dumb-bells." Its attribution, therefore, depends on those two symbols being distinct, or, by inference, on the coin bearing the same group of Obverse Marks as coins which bear that Mark. Mark 2, with Three Taurines, occurs on 186 coins of this Group, namely, 143 coins of XIa and 43 coins of XIi. The Patraha Mark 2d, with Three "dumb-bells" is shown on three of the corresponding B.M.C. Varieties (VII i, k, l), but, as Mr. Bhattacharyya notes (p. 49) on the only coin on which the Mark is complete (B.M.C. Pl. X, 3) it is distinct, and is Mark 2o. It is also 2o on Pl. XLII, 20. The Mark is clear on Patraha coins 1110, 1188, 1190 and 1225, and a "Dumb-bell" and a Taurine appear together on eleven of the 29 coins


which are illustrated. Varieties XI^f and XI^h, which are of the Older Class, are the same as Class B (e) 2 and B (e) 1 of the Bhir-Mound coins which bear this same form of the Six-Armed Symbol (Bhir-Mound No. 1u). The "Dumb-bell" symbol occurs in different forms on the coins, and it cannot be conjectured what it is intended to represent. On B.M.C.

Pl. X 3, it is  and on Pl. XLII 20 it is ; on Patraha coins 1110 and 1190 it is ; on coins 1104 and 1156 it is

; on coin 1234 it is ¹; and on coin 1225 it is , as on

the Bhir-Mound coins. This last symbol has been shown in Mark 1a of the Bhir-Mound coins (Class B (e) 1 and B

(e) 2), to which it approximates as  (on Bhir-Mound coins 151, 270); as  (coins 193, 264); and there is a

variety  on coin 196, similar to that on Patraha coins 1104 and 1156.

It is not however safe to attribute Mark 2o, on all the 180 Patraha coins of Varieties XI b—h, considering the small number of coins on which the Mark is complete, and that Mark 2 is shown on the 186 coins of Varieties a and i of this Group of the distinctive "Dog-with-animal-in-its-mouth." It can only be safely said that the Mark occurs on some of those coins.

Where this object is in the "Hour-Glass" form, as in the margin, it resembles the Indian Damaru, or Hand-drum, which is also the form in Patraha Mark No. 8, already noted in § 26, and of the "Hour-Glass" Countermark on the reverse of the Later Coins, referred to in § 62.

THE COINS OF THE LATER CLASS WHICH DO NOT BEAR THE SUN AND THE SIX-ARMED-SYMBOL.

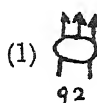
§ 36. There are certain coins of the Later Class which do not bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol. There are 76 such coins in the Patraha Hoard, which are shown in Class II, Groups I, II, and III; and 47 in the British Museum coins, which are shown in Class 2, Groups I, II, and VII var. f. A comparison of the Marks on those coins with coins that bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol shows that in every

1. This symbol occurs on Bhir-Mound Coin 280 also.

case in place of the Three Marks



are substituted



or (ii) Three separate

Marks of a single Human Figure or (iii) a single Mark of Three Human Figures in a Row. These are shown on **Plate VII** accompanying this article. It cannot, however, be said which of the three Marks of group (i) takes the place of which of the corresponding three Marks on the former coins. The three Arrows in Mark 92 might suggest a connection with the Six-Armed-Symbol and that it has taken the place of that Mark, and, similarly, that the Hill Mark 5 has taken the place of the Hill-with-Crescent. But this is merely a conjecture. If it were so, the remaining Mark 60, of a Hare or other Animal on a Pole, would have taken the place of the Sun. The Mark occurs on the Reverse of the Later Class of coins, as also on some of the coins of the Older Class, on which it was subsequently stamped in the Mauryan Period, and would appear to be an Authorising or Testing Mark, similar to the Hill-Crescent, as noted in § 14:

§ 37. The different Varieties of these coins are shown on **Plate VII**; P stands for Patraha; B.M.C. for the British Museum Catalogue of Ancient Indian Coins; G—G for the Gorho Ghat coins; and N. S. for Numismatic Supplement No. XLV. 1934.

It will be seen from the Plate that in the case of each of the corresponding varieties of the coins which bear the Sun and Six-Armed-Symbol, and those which bear the three substituted Marks, or the Three Human Figures, the Marks on the Reverse are the same on both. Thus, A1 and A2 both bear the Peacock; B1 and B2, the Taxila Mark; C1 and C2, and Ca1 and Ca2, the Caduceus, Triskelis and Hour-Glass; D1 and D2, the Taxila Mark; and that in the case of the Peacock and the Caduceus, those Marks also occur on the Obverse. This point is noticed further on in § 50 and 51 in regard to the Reverse Marks. The only exception is in the case of B.M.C. Group 1h, which is the same as Patraha Group 1e, and has a single Reverse

Mark in place of the Taxila Mark on the Patraha coins.

This Mark also occurs as an Obverse Mark on B.M.C. coins which bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol (Group Id).

The Mark of Three Human Figures in a Row in a single stamp is equivalent to three separate Marks. This is shown by the fact that the coins which bear that Mark have only two other Marks which make up the usual number of five marks.



§ 38. The Mark of Three Human Figures in a Row also occurs as a Reverse Mark on three Patraha coins: as the sole Mark on coin 811; and, together with the Peacock and the Animal-on-a-Pole, on coin 820; and, with the small Hill-Crescent Mark, on coin 883. It is also shown as a Reverse Mark on two coins of the Older Class, Nos. 1453 and 1454, as already noted in § 12. And also, as "perhaps", on one B.M.C. coin of the Older Class (coin 8 on page 53), on which, however, it does not show on that coin on Plate XLII, 23, (see *J.R.A.S.* 1938, p. 32).


A single Human Figure in different varieties (Marks 114-119) occurs on the Obverse of 28 of the Patraha coins, and on 12 of the B.M.C. coins. It does not occur as an Obverse Mark on the Older Bhir-Mound coins, though it occurs as a Reverse Mark (No. 171) on one coin, No. 855.

As will be seen from **Plate VII**, the Three Separate Figures in Patraha Ie, (B2) take the place of Marks 95, 5, and 60, in Id (B1); and the Three Figures in a Row in IIe (A2) take the place of those Marks in IIc (A1); and in IIIa (C2) take the place of those Marks in IIIb (C1).


§ 39. (1) The following Marks on these coins require notice. The Mark in the margin is shown in B.M.C. as being enclosed in a Triangle. The coins which are illustrated, however, only show that the incuse is of triangular form. The Mark is, therefore, the same as Patraha Mark 5.




(2) Mark  is shown in B.M.C. as  and also as

a Reverse Mark, as  . As in the case of the

similar object on the Varieties 2f and 2f¹ of the Six-Armed-Symbol, the exact form of the object is indefinite on many of the B.M.C. and the Patraha coins, but on B.M.C. coin 28 on page 37 (Pl. V. 12) the Mark is distinct and is the same as Patraha Mark 60.

- (3) Mark  is shown in B.M.C. on the coins of Class 2,

Group I, a—g. This is the portion of the Mark as it appears on most of the coins which are illustrated, on which the bottom portion of the Mark is either outside the coin or is indistinct. On one coin, however, No. 47 on page 21 (Pl. III. 14) the Mark



is complete, and is clear as  and is the same

as Patraha Mark 30. The Mark is, therefore, shown as such on the B.M.C. Varieties which are included in the Varieties D1, D2, and F on **Plate VII**.

- (4) The Mark in the margin is shown on one B.M.C. coin No. 26 on page 27, of Group II, f. The coin is illustrated (Pl. V. 15); the Mark is clear and the "Dog" above the Tortoise is distinct. This mark is, therefore, the same as Patraha Mark 58, and the coin is therefore included in Variety C2 on **Plate VII**.

- (5) The Mark in the margin occurs on 15 of the B.M.C. coins (Class 2. Group II, Vars. e, g, h). It is Group II, Vars. e, g, h). It is not clear on any of the coins of Vars. e and h which are illustrated, but is clear on coin 28 on page 27 (Pl. V. 12) of Variety g.

It is therefore shown as two separate Varieties Ca1 and Ca2 on **Plate I**.

§ 40. In the case of Variety F on **Plate VII**, the question arises whether Mark  or Mark  is the Mark

which has taken the place of Mark  in the Group of the

three Marks. As, however, there is no question that the Elephant and the Tree-in-Rail (No. 30) are the two additional Marks in Varieties D1 and D2, to which Variety F is similar in other respects, it would appear that they are also the two additional Marks, and that the Bull-with-Taurine is the Substituted Mark in Variety F.

THE REVERSE MARKS ON THE COINS OF THE LATER CLASS.

§ 41. The Reverse Marks on the coins of the Later Class are of a different character to those on the coins of the Older Class. They are either a Single Mark, or a combination of such Mark with one or more other Marks, on a definite principle, in contrast to the haphazard shroff-marks on the earlier coins. With the exception of the Taxila Mark, all the above Marks occur also on the Obverse, and in many cases, on the Obverse of the coin on which they occur on the Reverse. This is the case both on the Patraha and on the British Museum coins. Mr. Allan notes (B.M.C. p. xxxvii) that the Reverse has a definite type of one Mark and that "in this class we would include the large number which have two or even three punches, because, on examination, it is usually found that the second and third are later countermarks."

Mr. Allan gives 13 such groups of symbols (B.M.C. § 40 p. xxxix) and notes "The following groups of symbols are found in identical obverses." But all these Groups of Marks do not appear on the coins; only the fourth, seventh, eighth, and tenth of those groups are shown in the List of the Coins. On p. xl, however, Mr. Allan gives another list of 16 Groups of Reverse Marks, which all occur on the coins. In two of these groups (the tenth and fifteenth) however, the second Mark is the small Hill-Crescent Testing Mark. The third, fourth and sixteenth groups comprise Marks which do not occur on the Patraha coins. The remainder are the same or similar to Groups on the Patraha coins. Mr. Bhattacharyya, also, notes (p. iii) "Class II contains coins all of which have one regular stamp and one or two countermarks on their reverses. These stamps are boldly impressed and are of the same size as on those on the obverse." The latter is generally, but not always the case, for example, the Caduceus on the reverse of coin 213 is $4\frac{1}{2}$ mm, whereas on the Obverse of coin 229, it is 7 mm, and the other marks are also usually smaller than the corresponding Mark on the Obverse.

§ 42. The Groups of Marks on the Patraha coins are shown in Table A (Plates VIII and IX), and those on the British Museum Coins in Table B (Plates X and XI). The Serial Number in each Table is the same for the same Mark or Group of Marks. The same Varieties of the Patraha and the B.M.C. coins, in most cases, are numbered differently. The corresponding Varieties are, therefore, given in the Table on pp. 114-5. It will be seen that in some cases a single Patraha Variety comprises more than one B.M.C. Variety, owing to the fact that in the B.M.C., coins of the same Obverse but with a different Reverse Mark are classified as separate Varieties.

The Corresponding Varieties of the Patraha and B.M.C. Coins shown in Tables A and B (Plates VIII to XI.)

Table A Patraha	Table B B.M.C.	Table A Patraha	Table B B.M.C.	Table A Patraha	Table B B.M.C.
Class II Group	Class 2 Group	Class II Group	Class 2 Group	Class II Group	Class 2 Group
I a	I a	IV f	None	VI h	None
	I b	IV g	None	VIII a	IV u
	I c	IV h	III h	VII b	IV v
			III i	VIII c	None
I b	I e		III j	VIII d	None
I c	None	IV i	IV a	IX a	VI c
I d	VII f	IV j	IV b	IX b	None
None	I f	None	IV e	IX c	None
I e	I h	None	IV f	IX k	None
I f	I g	None	IV g	X a	V a
II a	II a	None	IV i	X c	V b
	II b	None	IV j	X e	None
None	II d	IV k	None	X g	None
II b	None	V a	IV h	X i	V d
II c	None	V b	IV c	XI a	VII a
II e	II c	V c	None		VII b
III a	II e	V d	IV d		VII c
None	II f	V e	None		VII d

*The Corresponding Varieties of The Patraha and B.M.C. Coins
shown in Tables A and B (Plates VIII to XI.)*

Table A Patraha	Table B B.M.C.	Table A Patraha	Table B B.M.C.	Table A Patraha	Table B B.M.C.
Class II Group	Class 2 Group	Class II Group	Class 2 Group	Class II Group	Class 2 Group
III b	II g	V f	None	XI b	VII e
III c	II h	V g	None	XI d	VII k
VI a	III a	V i	IV q		
VI b	None		IV t		
None	III b	V j	IX c		
None	III c	VI a	IV l		
IV c	None	VI c	IV m		
IV d	None	None	IV n		
IV e	III d	VI d	None		
None	III e	VI e	None		
None	III f	VI f	None		
None	III g	VI g	None		

§ 43. It will be seen from Tables A and B that there are certain Principal Marks, as is shown by the large number of coins on which they occur, to which Countermarks are added. All of these except the Taxila Mark are also Obverse Marks, as Reverse Mark 230, the Crescented-Cross (Serial No. 28 on **Plate IX**), is the same as the Obverse Mark 93. The Principal Marks are the Taxila Mark (**Pl. VIII**, Nos. 1-6), the Hill-Crescent (**Pl. VIII**, Nos. 7), the Peacock (**Pl. VIII**, Nos. 8-11), the Caduceus (**Pl. VIII**, Nos. 12-4 and **Pl. IX**, Nos. 15-21), and the Four-Taurines round a Central Boss (**Pl. IX**, Nos. 23-25). The Triskelis occurs as the sole mark on 8 coins of Variety XIa

(Pl. IX, No. 22), but is not a Principal Mark, as it occurs as a Countermark of the Taxila Mark on 34 other coins of that same Variety. This, similarly, applies to the Crescented-Cross (Mark 230, Pl. IX, No. 28) and to the Tree-in-Rail (Pl. IX, No. 29).

§ 44. The same Principal Mark occurs in most cases on all the coins which bear the same group of Obverse Marks, and are, therefore, of the same coinage. But in the following coinages some of the coins bear different Marks. In both the B.M.C. and the Patraha classification, coins of the same Obverse but with a different Reverse Mark or Countermark have been treated as being different Varieties. Thus, Patraha Varieties Va, Vc, and Ve all bear the same Obverse Marks, but in the case of these 122 coins the Reverse Mark on 50 coins (Va) is the Peacock; on 48 coins (Vc) is the Caduceus; and on 24 coins (Ve) is the Four-Taurines.

Similarly, Varieties Vb, Vd, and Vf all bear the same Obverse Marks, which are the same as those of Va, Vc, and Ve, except that the form of the Six-Armed-Symbol is 2 in place of 2f, but in the case of these 13 coins the Reverse Mark on 6 coins (Vb) is the Peacock; on 5 coins (Vd) it is the Caduceus; and on 2 coins (Vf) it is the Four-Taurines. In the corresponding B.M.C. coins, namely IVh (Patraha Vc) the Reverse Mark is the same.

Similarly, B.M.C. Varieties IVc, d, have the same Obverse Marks, but IVc has the Caduceus on the Reverse, and IVd has the Peacock.

There are also 13 coins in B.M.C. (IVe, f, g) which have the same Obverse Mark as the above, but with a different form of the Six-Armed-Symbol of Threc Arrows and Three *Damarus* (Patraha Mark 2d), on which the Reverse Mark on 7 coins (IVe) is the Caduceus; on 5 coins (IVg) the Four-Taurines; and on one coin of IVg the Countermark of the Crescented Cross. The different form of the Six-Armed-Symbol in these and in other Varieties would appear to be different issues of the same coinage.

Varieties IVi, j, have the same Obverse Marks, but IVi has the Four-Taurines and IVj has the Caduceus on the Reverse; IVg, r, s, t have the same Obverse Marks, but IVt has the Four-Taurines and IVq has the Taxila Mark on one coin.

No Principal Mark occurs on Varieties Vg—j; VIb; VIIa, b; IXa—j; Xa—i; and on 49 coins of XIa, and 59 coins of XIb, a total of 331 coins.

THE TAXILA MARK

§ 45. The Taxila Mark in the margin was so called by Cunningham as he found it on the reverse of a great number of coins which he obtained from Taxila. It does not occur as an Obverse Mark. The Mark is composed of a central Boss with a crescent on either side and an object on the two other sides, which Mr. Allan (B.M.C. p. xxxviii) considers to be "the conventional fish," but which may be a Double-barbed Arrow-head, as would appear from its representation in debased forms of the Mark. The Mark in the above form is clear on B.M.C. Pl. III, 10, 12, 14, 15, and other coins, and on *C.A. I* Pl. II, 2 and 18. It is not clear on the Patraha coins which are illustrated; it can be best seen on coin 92.



Mr. Bhattacharyya shows five varieties of this Mark as in the margin. The first of these is the conventional form adopted in B.M.C. The varieties of this



135a



135b



135c



135d



135e


Mark are, however, very numerous. There are seventeen varieties on the 167 coins of the Bhir-Mound hoard of the Later Class of coins (Plate IIIA—Q), and four varieties on the eleven coins bearing that Mark in the Gorho Ghat coins (Pl. III 55-58), and we have found 13 different varieties on the British Museum coins.


§ 46. The Hill-Crescent (Pl. VIII, Sl. 7) in its full size, as distinct from the smaller Testing-Mark, occurs on the Reverse of only 5 coins of Variety XIa, on which it also occurs on the Obverse. Ninety eight of the other coins of that Variety bear the Taxila Mark, as do also the B.M.C. coins of the corresponding Variety (VII a—d). It differs from the Small-Hill-Crescent Testing Mark in its size, which is 7×6 mm on coin 1068, as compared with 4×3 mm of the latter Mark on coin 926, and $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ mm on coin 1362. Although it occurred on the Reverse of so few of the Patraha coins, it occurs as the sole Mark on 71 of the B.M.C. coins (Class 1, Group I a—d) which Mr. Allan notes (p. xli) are all of one hoard, and it is therefore a Principal Reverse Mark on those coins.

The Mark is also shown in the larger size on the Reverse of 4 other British Museum coins; namely 2 coins of Class 2, Gr. Vb (p. 41, Pl. II, 11, 12), one coin of VIIi (p. 50, Pl. XLII, 20) and one coin of VIIk (p. 50 Pl. X, 3) but, in each case, it will be seen from the coins that it is the smaller Test-Mark.

It occurs on the Obverse of 615 out of the 1194 Patraha coins of the Later Class, in 9 Varieties, on 75 of which (Class II, Group II a, b) it occurs together with the Peacock, and on 141 of the British Museum coins in 30 Varieties, on 13 of which (II a, b) it occurs together with the Peacock.

§ 47. This Hill-crescent Mark, which was the *Rājāṅka* of Chandragupta Maurya, is carved, together with other marks, beneath the only pillar of his palace at Pāṭalīputra which was recovered, owing to its having fallen, whereas the others, which had remained standing, had sunk by their weight to a great depth into the ground when their wooden foundations had decayed, and could not be reached or recovered. It continued to be a distinctive symbol of the Mauryan Empire after his death, and occurs together with the Peacock (Mayūra, Maur) which there are grounds for considering to be the *Rājāṅka* of Asoka, as Carlyle found engraved on the Asokan pillar at Lauriya Nandangarh and took it to be the royal mark of Asoka.¹ The Hill-Crescent occurs on the Cast Copper Coins (B.M.C. Pls. XI, XII) some thousands of which have been found near Patna, and it continued after the Mauryan Period, on the later Tribal coins.

§ 48. The variety of the Hill-Crescent in the margin, with
 a Hill of six Arches, occurs on Patraha coins of Class II, Group IV, Variety k, in which it takes the place of the Hill-Crescent in Class II, Group IV, Variety j; and in Class II, Group X, Variety a, in which it takes the place of the Hill-Crescent in Class II, Group X, Variety b, the other four Marks, in each case being the same. It also occurs in B.M.C. Varieties Va, b, though in that case there is no corresponding Variety with the Hill-Crescent.

§ 49. The Hill Crescent in Patraha Class II, Group XI, Variety a in the margin, takes the place of the Mark
 of Three-Arches, in Class II, Group XI, Variety b; and in B.M.C. Varieties VII a—d it takes the place of that Mark in Variety VIIe, the other four Marks being the same in each case. The Three-Arches occurs on the Bhir-Mound coins of Class B (e) and on the corresponding Patraha coins of XI c—f and VIII a, b, which as already noted, are of the Older Class. All the above coins bear the Mark of the Dog with an animal in its mouth. If this Mark represents a Dog carrying its puppy in its mouth, it may, perhaps, indicate the name *Śiśupāla*. But that is not known as a dynastic or other name of those times.

§ 50. The Peacock occurs on the Reverse of 180 of the Patraha coins, of 7 Varieties (Pl. X, Sl. 8-11). It occurs on the Obverse of 216 coins, on 95 of which (Cl. II, Gr. II, Vars. a-e) it also occurs on all the 77 Reverses which are clear, except the single coin No. 196, which only bears a shroff-mark. Twenty of these coins (Plate VII, A1, and A2) do not bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol. All the other coins on which it occurs on the Reverse (IV a, c) have the Caduceus on the Obverse. It is generally the sole Reverse Mark, and has a countermark on only 18 coins.

This is also the case in the B.M.C. coins, on which it has a countermark, the Triskelis, on only one of the 49 coins on which it occurs. On 27 of these (Gr. II a—c, and II or IV) it also occurs on the Obverse, and 21 of the remaining coins (Gr. IV a, c) have the Caduceus on the Obverse, as in the case of the Patraha coins; the remaining coin is one that does not bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol (Plate VII E.)

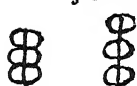
§ 51. The Caduceus (Pls. VIII and IX, Sl. Nos. 12-21) occurs as the Principal Mark on the reverse of 199 of the Patraha coins in 15 Varieties, on 105 of which it is the sole Mark. The most usual countermark is the Triskelis, which occurs together with it on 48 coins. The Caduceus occurs on the Obverse of 456 coins in 25 Varieties in Class II Groups III, IV, V and VI, on all of which, except the 5 coins of VIb, it also occurs on the Reverse. It does not occur on the Reverse of any coin on which it does not occur on the Obverse, and this is also the case in the B.M.C. coins. It occurs on the Obverse and Reverse of 18 coins (III a, b) which do not bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol (Plate I, Ci, C2).¹

It also occurs on the Obverse, but not on the Reverse, of the 20 coins of Class II, Group XIc, but these, as noted in § 4, are of the Older Class.

The B.M.C. coins (Pl. XI, Nos. 12-14 and 20-21a) give similar results. The Caduceus occurs on the Reverse of 63 of those coins in 21 Varieties, on 41 of which it is the sole Mark, and on the remainder the Triskelis is the usual Countermark, occurring on 15 coins. It occurs on 11 coins which do not bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol. (Plate VII, Ca 1, Ca 2).

1. [Recently I have seen a hoard of about 700 Punch-marked coins in Patna Museum, discovered in Monghyr district of Bihar; on most of these coins the Caduceus occurs both on the obverse and reverse. The other marks on the obverse are the Sun, the Six-Armed-Symbol, the Crescented Hill and another which is indistinct. All these coins seem to belong to B.M.C., Cl. 2, Gr. III, Var. b. *Editor, A. S. A.*]

§ 52. The Caduceus occurs in two forms with the three ovals



Attached (Patraha Mark 86) and with the three ovals Separated (Mark 87) as shown in the margin.

On the Reverse the Mark is always in the Attached form. The Separated form (87) is shown on the Obverse of the 199 coins of Cl. II, Gr. V, Varieties a—j. Thirteen of the coins are illustrated, of all the Varieties except b and h. On the two coins of Gr. VI which are illustrated, the Mark is 87, and also on one of the two coins of Gr. Vc, and on one of the two coins of Gr. Ve, but the Mark on all the other coins is in the form of 86. It can, therefore, only be said that on some of the coins of Group V the Mark is in the form of 87. The Mark in the Separated form occurs on the Older Patraha coins of Class II, Group XI, Variety c and Class III, Group IV, Variety j and Group VI Variety a, and on the Older B.M.C. coins of Class 6 Varieties IVa, and c. It is also the only form on the Older Bhīr-Mound coins.

The Mark was formerly called the "Cotton-bale" Mark, from Cunningham's remark with reference to the Attached-Form (*C. A. I.* p. 56), that "it looks something like a bale of cotton." But that resemblance would not apply to the Separated form. The "Caduceus" is also merely a resemblance, and the earlier Separated form appears to preclude its being intended to represent two snakes coiled round a staff, though Mr. Durga Prasad (*N. S.* XLV p. 51) considers it to have that significance, and notes that "On the Nāgapañchamī day in August when the serpent is worshipped similar figures are drawn on paper and sold for Worship". Its meaning, however, is uncertain. A Mark of three circles in the Attached form, but without the line down the centre, occurs on the Mohenjo-daro seals (*Bhīr-Mound* p. 94).

§ 53. The Mark of Four Taurines round a Central Boss (**Pl. XI**, Sls. 23-26) occurs as the Principal Mark on 106 of the Patraha coins in 15 Varieties, on 96 of which it is the sole Mark. It occurs on the Obverse of 44 coins (Cl. II, Gr. VI c—h), on which it also occurs on the Reverse. In the British Museum coins the Mark occurs on the Reverse of 32 coins in 10 Varieties, on 31 of which it is the sole Mark. It occurs on the Obverse of only 10 of the B.M.C. coins in 3 Varieties (VIIk and XI a, b), on which it also occurs on the Reverse.

The Mark also occurs on the Obverse of 12 of the Older Patraha coins (Class III) in 6 Varieties; and on the Obverse of 7 of the Older B.M.C. coins (Class 6) in 4 Varieties, and on the Bhīr-Mound coins.

§ 54. The Mark in the margin (**Pl. XI, Sl. 31**), occurs only as the sole Mark on the Reverse of the four B.M.C. coins of Class 2, Var. 1h. It may, therefore, be considered to be a principal Mark. It occurs on the Obverse of the 6 B.M.C. coins of Class 2 Id.

THE COUNTERMARKS

§ 55. The Countermarks and the Principal Marks together with which they occur are shown in **Plates VIII to XI**. Some of them, the Triskelis, the Double-Trident, the Tree-in-Rail, the Crescented-Cross and the Tridented-Cross, occur on certain coins, without another Mark. In most cases they also occur on other coins in that same Variety as a Countermark to one of the Principal Marks. There is nothing to show the order in which the Marks were stamped, and they may, therefore, have been stamped with the same significance as those Countermarks, though the Principal Mark was not added.


In the case of the coins which do not bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol, shown on **Plate VII**, it will be seen that the Reverse Marks on each Variety of those coins are the same as on the corresponding Variety which bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol.

§ 56. The Triskelis occurs in two forms: with the points curving to the right, and with the points curving to the left (**Patraha Marks 100, 143**). The two forms do not occur on the same Variety, both in the Patraha and the B.M.C. coins. It occurs on the Reverse of 95 of the Patraha coins, in 8 Varieties. In the Right-handed form it occurs together with the Taxila Mark on 38 coins (**Pl. VIII, Nos. 2, 3**), with the Caduceus on 8 coins (**Pl. IX, Nos. 15-17**) and by itself on 8 coins (**Pl. IX, No. 22**). In the Left-handed form it occurs together with the Peacock on one coin (**Pl. X, No. 9**) and, together with the Caduceus on 40 coins (**Pl. VIII, Nos. 13, 14**).

On the British Museum coins it is only shown in the Left-handed form, but on B.M.C. coin 13, p. 26, Var. IIb (**Pl. X, 18**), and on coin 14, p. 46, Var. VIIb (**Pl. IV, 23**) it is, actually, the Right-handed form, as in the corresponding Patraha Variety. It occurs in the Right-handed form together with the Taxila Mark on one coin (**Pl. X, Sl. 2**), and, by itself, on 2 coins (**Pl. XI, Sl. 22**). In the Left-handed form it occurs together with the Caduceus on 15 coins (**Pl. XI, Sl. 13, 14**).

The Triskelis occurs as an Obverse Mark in both the Patraha and the B.M.C. coins as part of a Compound-Mark, combined with the Banner, *Jayadhvaja*, (**Patraha Marks 96**,

97, 98), in which form it occurs on 36 Patraha coins and on 6 B.M.C. coins. It also occurs by itself on the Obverse of 3 Patraha coins of Cl. II, Gr. IV, var. c, but, as noted by Mr. Bhattacharyya (p. 15), "It cannot be definitely said that this component", viz. the *Jayadhvaja* "is absent owing to want of space. The Triskelis is so very prominent that it seems to be an entire symbol by itself." The Compound-mark is not complete or distinct on any of the Patraha coins which are illustrated, but it is complete and clear on B.M.C. coin 5, p 28 (Pl. V, 7 ; and *C. A. I.* Pl. I, 14), and the circular incuse round the Triskelis portion is the same as on the Patraha coin 310, and the Mark on that coin also appears to be the Compound-Mark, the *Jayadhvaja* being outside the coin.

§ 57. The Animal on a Pole in a Rail in the margin, (Patraha Mark 60), occurs as an Obverse Mark on only those coins which do not bear the Sun and the Six-armed- Symbol, and is therefore a very late Mark. The animal is shown in a somewhat different form in the B.M.C., but the stamp is often indefinite, and there is no doubt that the Marks are the same.

As a Reverse Mark it differs from the Countermarks in the character of its occurrence, and appears to be a Testing or Authorising Mark like the Small-Hill-Crescent. This is shown from Serials 6, 11, 17, 18 and 24 of **Plates VIII and IX**, and Serials 2c and 24 of **Plates X, and XI**. Out of 22 Patraha coins bearing the Taxila Mark, it only occurs on one coin, and only on one coin of the 110 B.M.C. coins which bear that Mark ; out of the 181 Patraha coins which bear the Peacock on the Reverse it only occurs on 13 coins, which are of 4 different Varieties, and does not occur on the 39 B.M.C. coins which bear that Mark ; out of the 199 Patraha coins which bear the Caduceus it only occurs on 10 coins in 3 different Varieties, namely, out of the 105 coins which bear the Caduceus without a Countermark (**Plates X, XI**, Serials 12 and 18) it only occurs on 6 coins in 2 different Varieties, and out of the 51 coins which bear the Caduceus together with the Countermark of the Triskelis it only occurs on 4 coins, which are in 2 different Varieties ; and out of the 107 Patraha coins which bear the Four Taurines it only occurs on 6 coins which are in 3 different Varieties, and on only one of the 32 B.M.C. coins which bear that Mark, it also occurs by itself on 2 of the coins of Cl. II, Gr. IX, Variety a, on the single coin of Cl. II, Gr. IXf, and on one of the 7 coins of Class II, Group IXh. It occurs the most frequently in Cl. II, Gr. V, Variety c, in which it occurs on 5 out of the 48 coins which bear the Caduceus.


A fact which also distinguishes this Mark from the Countermarks is that the Countermarks are always stamped so as not to overlap the Principal Mark, and may have been stamped at the same time, whereas this Mark is noted in the List of the Patraha coins as being stamped over the Peacock on coin 211 of Variety IIe and coin 419 of IIIc; and over Mark 135d, the Countermark of the Taxila Mark, on coin 1078 of XIb.

§ 58. The Tree-in-Rail (Patraha Obverse Mark 27 and Reverse Mark 152) does not occur together with a Principal Mark on the Patraha coins. It occurs together with the Taxila Mark on one B.M.C. coin (Pl. IV, No. 2b) and, together with the Caduceus on 2 coins (Pl. V, No. 29).

It occurs by itself on the Reverse of 12 Patraha coins in 6 Varieties (Pl. IX, No. 29) and on 7 B.M.C. coins in 7 Varieties.

It also occurs on the Reverse of some of the Patraha and the B.M.C. coins of the Older Class.

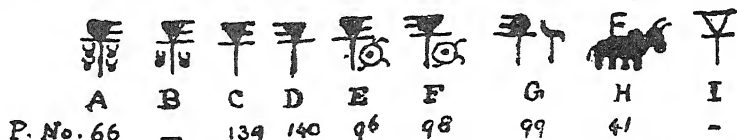
It occurs as an Obverse Mark in the above and other forms (Patraha Marks 14, 29, 30, 31) on 50 Patraha coins in 9 Varieties (Cl. II, Gr. IIg and Cl. II, Gr. IX a—h) and on 64 B.M.C. coins in 18 Varieties.

§ 59. The Crescent-Cross in the margin cannot be considered as a regular Countermark. It only occurs  as a Countermark, together with the Peacock, on 4 of the Patraha coins of Variety IVi, and, together with the Taxila Mark, on one of the B.M.C. coins of Variety 2 XIb. It occurs by itself on 9 of the Patraha coins, (Pl. IX, No. 28) namely, on one of the 49 coins of Variety IIIc, of which the Principal Mark is the Caduceus; on one of the 41 coins of Var. VIIb, of which the Principal Mark is the Four Taurines; and in the B.M.C. coins it occurs on 5 coins of 4 different Varieties which do not bear a Principal Mark.

It occurs as an Obverse Mark on one Patraha coin (No. 811) and as part of a Compound Mark together with a fish (?), on the coins of Var. IVi. It does not occur as an Obverse Mark on the B.M.C. coins.

This Mark is shown in the B.M.C. in a different form, as Four detached Crescents round a Central Boss, but the coins which are illustrated show it to be the Crescented Cross, as on the Patraha coins.

§ 60. The "Banner"—The actual significance of this symbol is uncertain. It occurs in the following Marks



Theobald describes it as a birds' receptacle for food ; Prinsep (*J. A. S. B.* iv, p. 628) calls it a *Jayadhvaja*, a Banner of Victory ; Mr. Durga Prasad (*N. S.* XLV, p. 50) considers that form A "looks like a Śūla Mudgara, a club with forks, a heavy offensive arm of the early days", and that form B "Fig. 99 is undoubtedly a flagstaff as is seen on the gates of the Sanchi Stupa sculptured in stones ; the flags were attached to the upper half of the staff and they flew horizontally, the staffs were held in hands and carried by men sitting on Elephants." There is, however, no reason to consider the symbol in Mark A to be different from that in Mark B.

Form A, protected by four Taurines, occurs on the Obverse of coins of the Older Class of Patraha, B.M.C. and Bhir-Mound. Form B, with two Taurines, is shown on the Obverse of two B.M.C. coins of the Older Class (coins 5 and 6, p. 56), but only part of the Mark is on the coin and it would appear to be the usual Mark A. It is also shown on the Reverse of one B.M.C. coin of the Later Class (coin 29, p. 27, Pl. XLI. 3), but the Taurine does not appear in the Mark, which is clear, and is Mark C.

Marks E and F (Patraha Nos. 96, 97, 98) occur on the Obverse of Patraha and B.M.C. coins of the Later Class. Mark G (Patraha No 99) is shown on the Obverse of the 10 coins of Var. IXc, but it cannot be made out on the three coins which are illustrated. Mark J (Patraha No. 41) is shown on the Obverse of the 18 coins of Var. IXb, but on the 3 coins which are illustrated the object above the Bull appears to be a Taurine.

Mark I does not occur on the Punch-Marked coins, but, as Mr. Allan notes (*B.M.C.* p. xxxiv.), Marks C and I are found on various cast coins, and Mark I on coins of Kausambi, Taxila, and Ujjain ; and, in a railing, on coins of Eran.

The Marks on the Reverse of the Later Coins are Marks C and D. Mark C, with the streamers of the Banner to the right, occurs on 2 Patraha coins together with the Taxila Mark (*Pl. VIII*, Sl. 3 and 4), and on one coin (Sl. 21) together with the Caduceus, and on one B.M.C. coin (*Pl. XI*, Sl. 21) ; and Mark D, with the streamers to the left, on one Patraha coin (*Pl. IX*, Sl. 16) together with the Caduceus.

§ 61. The double-Trident occurs together with the Four Taurines on the Reverse of 3 Patraha coins (PI. IX, No 25), and, by itself, on 5 coins of Vars. Vi and Vj, the coins of which do not bear any Principal Mark. It does not occur on the Reverse of B.M.C. coins.

It occurs on the Obverse of 2 Patraha coins of the Later Class (Group V, Vars. g and IXi) and on 3 B.M.C. coins (Var. 2, VIIIc). It is also an Obverse Mark on the Coins of the Older Class.

§ 62. The "Hour-Glass" occurs together with the Caduceus on 21 Patraha coins in 4 Varieties (PI. VIII, No. 14, and PI. IX, Sl. 19); and, on 10 B.M.C. coins in 3 Varieties (PI. X, No. 14); and, together with the Taxila Mark on one B.M.C. coin (PI. XI, No. 14). It does not occur as an Obverse Mark, though it occurs as a symbol in certain forms of the Six-Armed-Symbol, and above the Tank-Hill Mark of the Older Coins.

The "Hour-Glass", so called from its shape, has been considered by the present writer in *J.R.A.S.* 1938, p. 23. It appears to be the *ḍamaru*, the Indian Hand-drum, which is used in certain religious services, and might, therefore, be regarded as having a protective or propitious significance, as in the case of the Taurine. It also resembles in shape the *morhā*, the common wicker work stand or seat, but, as such, would not appear likely to be a symbol on coinage. Mr. Allan calls it a "dumb-bell", obviously on account of its shape.

§ 63. The Taurine is a Reverse Mark of very general occurrence, especially on the coins of the Older Class. But it also appears to be a Countermark, on the Later Coins, as it occurs as the only other Mark together with the Caduceus on 31 of the 33 Patraha coins of which the Reverse is clear, of Group IV, Variety i (PI. IX, Sl. 20). It also occurs together with that Mark on 4 B.M.C. coins of 3 Varieties (PI. XI, No. 20). It also occurs together with the Taxila Mark on one B.M.C. coin (PI. X, No. 2d).

§ 64. The Tridented Cross, (Patraha Mark 136) in the margin, occurs together with the Taxila Mark on only 6 coins in 3 Varieties (PI. VIII, No. 5). It does not occur on the corresponding B.M.C. Varieties, or on the B.M.C. coins at all. It also occurs on 20 coins of 4 Varieties (PI. IX, No. 30), which do not bear a Principal Mark. The Mark is clear on Patraha coin 1079.



§ 65. The Three Human Figures occur in two forms on the Obverse and on the Reverse of the Later Coins: either in three separate punches of a Single Figure (Patraha Obverse Mark 112 and Reverse Mark 141) or as Three Figures in a Row in a single punch (Obverse Mark 113 and

Reverse Mark 141a). The Obverse Mark 113 is clear on coins 200 and 213, and the Reverse Mark 141a is clear on coin 811, and also on coin 883, though it is shown on that coin in the List of the Coins as Mark 141. Neither Mark 141 or 141a occur on the Reverse of coins on which those Marks occur on the Obverse. The Obverse Marks 112 and 113 only occur on those coins which do not bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol. Reverse Mark 141 is shown on 7 coins, No. 820 (Group IXh); 833 (Group Xf); 834 (Group Xg); 1044, 1045, 1046 (Group XIa); and 1102 (Group XIb). The Reverse of only one of them (820) is illustrated.

The Three Figures together in a Row (141a) is shown on the Reverse of a single coin, No. 1453. This coin is of the Older Class, and has been already considered in § 15.

As already noted in § 38, the Three Figures in a Row as an Obverse Mark is equivalent to three separate Marks, and only occurs with two other Marks, and does not occur on coins which bear the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol. Mr. Durga Prasad, however, records a coin, in the Patna Museum, (N.S. XLV, Plate 19 and No. 116) from Tereгна, on which the Three Human Figures occur as the Fifth Mark, together with the Sun and the Six-Armed-Symbol. The coin is not illustrated and has the word "SEE" entered against it. It would appear that the Mark taken to be the Three Figures is actually the four-fingered "Hand" or "Comb", which is the corresponding Mark on the coin which follows it (No. 117), also from Tereгна, which is illustrated, and also in *C.A. I*, Pl. I, 12.

The Patraha and B.M.C. coins on which the Three-Figures Marks occur are shown on **Plate VII**.

VARIETIES ON WHICH DIFFERENT PRINCIPAL MARKS OCCUR.

§ 66. In certain Varieties different Principal Marks occur on the Reverse of some of the coins which bear the same group of Obverse Marks, and, are, therefore, the same coinage. Thus, Patraha Varieties Va, Vc and Ve are the same coinage, but the coins of Va (50 coins) have the Peacock; Vc (48 coins) have the Caduceus; and Ve (24 coins) have the Four Taurines. Similarly, Patraha Vb, Vd and Vf, which are the same as the above, but with a different form of the Six-Armed-Symbol, are of one coinage, but the coins of Vb (6 coins) have the Peacock; Vd (5 coins) have the Caduceus; and Vf (2 coins) have the Four Taurines. And in

Variety IVj, 5 coins have the Caduceus and one coin the Four Taurines.

It is the same with the corresponding B.M.C. coins. For instance, Varieties IVc and IVd of those coins bear the same Obverse Marks, but IVc (14 coins) has the Peacock, and IVd (4 coins) has the Caduceus. Similarly, Varieties IVb, IVi, and IVj bear the same Obverse Marks, but IVb (one coin) and IVj (2 coins) and IVi (2 coins) have the Four Taurines. Also Varieties IVe, IVf, and IVg have the same Obverse Marks, but IVe (8 coins) has the Caduceus, IVg (5 coins) has the Four Taurines, and IVf (one coin) has the Countermark of the Crescented Cross. It would, therefore, appear that the Principal Marks are either Mint-Marks of the places where the coins were struck, or to indicate the area for which they were intended for circulation; and this may also apply to the Countermarks.

THE PRINCIPAL MARKS AS MINT-MARKS.

§ 67. The Taxila Mark, in its many Varieties, is the most prevalent of the Principal Marks. It occurs on 219 of the Patraha coins, in 3 Groups and 9 Varieties, and on other coins which have been found in several parts of India. As a Mint-Mark or as an Area-Mark it is difficult to account for its wide prevalence. It is also the most prevalent Mark on the B.M.C. coins and occurs on 110 coins in 6 Groups and 17 Varieties. But the B.M.C. coins were mostly obtained in Northern India.

The great number of different forms of the Mark, and the very crude form of many of them and their imperfect resemblance to the perfect form of the Mark suggests that they were not struck at the same place or time. If they are Mint-marks it would be expected that Pāṭaliputra, as the capital of the Mauryan Empire, would have its distinctive Mark. It is possible that the Peacock (*Mayūra*, *Maur*) may be that Mark. There is nothing in any of the coins of the Patraha hoard that would suggest a local coinage of that neighbourhood, unless, perhaps the single coin of Class I, the Marks on which differ from other Punch-marked coins that have hitherto been published.

§ 68. But whether the Principal Marks indicate Mints or Areas, it would not appear that the Countermarks indicate Smaller Mints or Smaller Areas within the larger area of the Principal Mark together with which they occur; as, in that case, the same Counter-mark would not occur, as it does, with different Principal Marks. The Countermarks may, therefore, be Testing Marks,

The *Arthaśāstra*, recording the principles of the coinage of the Mauryan Period, contains the following passage (p. 98) :—
 “The Examiner of the coins (*rūpadarśaka*) shall regulate currency both as a medium of exchange (*vyavahārikim*) and as legal tender admissible into the Treasury (*koshapraveśyām*). The premia levied on coins paid into the Treasury shall be eight per cent known as *rūpika*, 5 per cent known as *vyāji*, one-eighth *paṇa* per cent as *parikṣhika* (testing charges), besides (*cha*) a fine of 25 *paṇa* to be imposed on offenders other than the manufacturer, the seller, the purchaser and the examiner.”¹

From this it is clear that there was a regular testing of the coinage for which a premium was levied at the Royal Mint.

It would also appear from the duties of the “Examiner of Coins” that, besides the royal mints, there were other authorities who were authorised to issue coinage. Such authorities may have been the *Saṅghas*, communities of groups of villages, *Ganas*, tribes or clans, *Janapadas*, self-governing provinces, or *Naigamas*, either self-governing towns, or guilds of merchants. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has fully examined the point in his Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics.²

There would probably be a similar system of testing the coinages in their case, and the Countermarks may possibly be the Testing Marks of such authorities, as the Hill-with-Crescent was the Royal Testing Mark. But this is only a possible surmise, as there are no other considerations to support it.

The 5 per cent premium for *Vyāji*, “deceit” or “cheating”, may perhaps refer to coins which had been clipped, which would then be called in.

VARIETIES WHICH DO NOT BEAR A PRINCIPAL MARK.

§ 69. There are 219 of the Later Patraha coins in 4 Groups and 24 Varieties (V, h, j; VII, a, b; IXa—j; Xa—f and h, i) which do not bear any Principal Mark, though some of the Countermarks occur on a few of the coins; the Tree-in-Rail occurs on 10 of the coins, the Crescented-Cross on 8 coins, the Double-Trident on 4 coins, and the Hare-on-a-Pole on 8 coins. The Testing-Mark of the Small-Hill-Crescent is more frequent on these coins than on the coins which bear a Principal Mark, on which it seldom occurs. The Shroff-marks are also much more frequent on these coins, which were struck with a Blank Reverse. This would appear to show that they

1. Kautilya's *Artha-Śāstra*, translated by R. Shamasastri, B. A., M. R., A. S., Government Oriental Library Series No. 87. Part II Bangalore Government Press 1915.

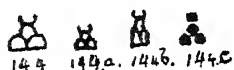
2. *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, 1921, pp. 5-11.

were not so generally well-known and accepted as those which bore a Principal Mark. Also the number of Shroff-marks on the same coin is greater, which shows a considerable length of circulation. There can be no question that these are coins of the Mauryan Empire, as 100 of them (Groups IXa—j and Xa—f) bear the Hill-Crescent Mark on the Obverse.

As already noted a few of these coins bear Marks which also occur as Countermarks. The Reverse of none of those coins is illustrated, so it cannot be said whether those Marks would appear to have been stamped on at the time of issue, or whether, like the others they were issued with a Blank Reverse on which, like the Shroff-Marks, they were subsequently stamped.

THE SMALL-HILL-CRESCENT REVERSE MARK.

§ 70. As already noted in § 13 with reference to the Older Class of coins, the Small-Hill-Crescent occurs in 4 Varieties shown in the margin. Mark 144b is the same as 144, but smaller :



144b has the arches narrower and more elongated, and 144c consists of four small squares punched into the coin, *intaglio*.

Mark 144 is shown on 39 coins of the Later Class in 10 Varieties; Mark 144a, on 7 coins in 3 Varieties; 144b on 28 coins in the single Variety XI i; and 144c on a single coin, No. 1290. The very irregular occurrences of the Mark shows that it is of a different character to the Countermarks. Thus in Variety Xc Mark 144 occurs on only 3 out of 20 coins; in Xh on 5 out of 38 coins; and in XIb on 2 out of 70 coins. In some of these there is also a Principal Mark or Countermark, and in others there is none.

Mark 144b is shown as occurring on only one Variety, (XIb), on which it is shown as occurring on 28 out of the 43 coins. The Reverse of 4 of those coins is illustrated (Nos. 1278, 1280, 1283, 1285). The Mark is clear on coin 1283, but is indefinite on the others and on coin 1285 it appears to be 144. Also Mark 144 is shown on 7 of the coins, and 144a on 2 coins. It cannot therefore be said that 144b is a special Mark of that Variety, though it occurs on several of the coins. In any case, the different varieties of the Mark are only types, due to the many different punches that must have been used, and it cannot be said that the similar varieties were of the same punch.

In no case does the Small-Hill-Crescent occur more than once on the same coin. From this, and also from its occurrence on the coins of the Older Class, the Mark appears to be a Testing Mark.

SHROFF-MARKS ON THE LATER COINS.

§ 71. The practice of Shroff-marking continued on the Later Class of coins. Of the 149 Reverse Marks shown on Plates IV-VII, 88 are shown on the Later Coins (Class II, excluding Varieties XI, c, d, f, h, and XII a—f, which are of the Older Class). Deducting from these the 20 Countermarks, already noted, the remaining 68 Reverse Marks are Shroff-marks which are shown on 79 coins, and, in addition to these, there are undecipherable defaced or indistinct Marks shown on 195 coins, on some of which there are several Marks. The practice of shroff-marking unfamiliar "foreign" coins, in fact, continued until comparatively recent times in the case of the separate coinages of the Indian States.

The prevalence of Shroff-marks varies in the case of different Varieties, and is most frequent in those which do not bear a Principal Mark or Counter-mark. Thus, in Variety Vh, there is a Shroff-mark on one of the only two coins which are clear; in Vi on 18 of the 25 coins which are clear; in Vj on 7 of the 11 coins which are clear; in VIIb on all the 6 coins; in VIIa on all the 3 coins; in VIIb on 5 of the 8 coins which are clear; in IXb on 10 of the 12 coins which are clear, and in X a—i on 27 of the 60 coins which are clear. They also, probably, occur on many others of the coins of which the Reverse is "not clear", "indistinct", or "defaced". The comparatively large number of such coins is due to the fact that the hoard was in a conglomerated mass, which was separated with difficulty, and the Shroff-marks, being lightly stamped into the surface of the coin, were obliterated in the process.

On the other hand, Shroff-marks are shown on only 12 of the 219 coins which bear the Taxila Mark, nine of which are on one Variety XIb; on only 11 of the 180 coins which bear the Peacock; on only 8 of the 199 coins which bear the Caduceus; and on only 8 of the 106 coins which bear the Four Taurines. This shows that the coins which have a Principal Mark were more generally known and their standard accepted, than those which were issued with a Blank Reverse.

NOTES ON SOME OTHER REVERSE MARKS.

§ 72. The Mark of a Circle with Two Taurines (Patraha Mark 62) in the margin is a Mark distinctive of the coins of the Older Class, on which it is an Obverse Mark and also occurs as a Reverse Mark. It does not occur as an Obverse Mark on the Patraha coins of the



Later Class. But it is shown in the List as occurring on two coins (Nos. 783 of Variety Xb and Miscellaneous coin No. 1353) which are of the Later Class. The Reverse of neither coin is illustrated. As this Mark has hitherto been found only on the Pre-Mauryan coins of the Older Class, it appears unlikely that the Mark attributed on those two coins is that Mark.

It occurs on the Obverse of 6 Varieties of the Patraha coins of the Older Class (Class III, Vars. Ic, IIa, IVd, VIIc, g, and Miscellaneous coin 1702), and on the Reverse of 8 coins of the Older Class in 4 Varieties which are included in Class II of the Later Coins, but which, as noted in § 4, are of the Older Class, namely on 5 coins of Class II, XIe, on one coin of XIIb, and on 2 coins of XIIf.

In the B.M.C. coins of the Older Class it occurs as an Obverse Mark of 7 Varieties (Class 6, Id, IIa, IIIId, IVe, VIb, VIj, and VII), but it does not occur on the Reverse of those coins. It occurs on the Reverse of 2 coins which are included in the Later Class (Class 2), but which are of the Older Class, namely coin No. 47, p. 49, Class 2, VIIh; and coin No. 5, p. 52, Class 2, VIIId. Coin 47, p. 49 belongs to a Variety which bears the distinctive Mark of a Dog with an Animal in its Mouth, which is a Mark that occurs on both the Older and the Later Class of coins. The coin is illustrated (Pl. X, 14); it appears to be a coin of the Older Class from its size, and also from the Caduceus on the Obverse being of the Older Type with the circles separated. Coin No. 5, p. 52, is also of the Older Class; its Variety, (VIIId), is the same as Class D2 of the Bhīr-Mound coins.

§ 73. The Mark of a Tree-on-a-Hill in the margin (Patraha Mark 13) is found only on coins of the Older Class, and, as such, occurs on the Patraha coins of the Older Class (Class III, Group VIII); and the B.M.C. coins (Class 6, Group VI); and on the Bhīr-Mound coins (Class L.). It is shown (Reverse Mark 156) on the Reverse of 2 of the Patraha coins included in the Later Class:—coin No. 860 of Variety Xc and No. 1197 of Variety XIe. The Mark on coin 860, which is illustrated, is not that Mark, but is two separate Marks intermingled, one of which is a Branch. Coin 1197 is of Variety XIe, which, as noted in § 4, is of the Older Class.

11-2-1942

[Owing to the war conditions, it was not possible for the author to correct any proofs of this paper. *Editor, A.S.A.*]

FURTHER NEW COINS FROM KAUSĀMBĪ

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Subsequent to the publication of my papers on 'New Kings and interesting Coin-types from Kauśāmbī' in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-16, I had an opportunity of further studying and classifying some more coins from the valuable coin collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas, B.A., LL.B., Executive Officer, Allahabad Municipality, who as usual, was good enough to extend all facilities necessary for the purpose. This further investigation led to the discovery of six more rulers of Kauśāmbī, hitherto unknown. A few better preserved specimens of some of the new kings, whose coins were published by me in the papers referred to above, were also found, which confirmed the readings then proposed. I shall now publish all these coins in the present paper. The credit for the discovery of these new kings and coins must be mainly given to Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas, but for whose zeal in coin collection the present coins would never have reached the hands of scholars. The plate accompanying this paper was prepared from the photo-prints kindly taken through the good offices of Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. The weights of coins were carefully ascertained by my son V. A. Altekar, a student of Metallurgy in the Benares Hindu University.

A COIN OF POTHAMITRA A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI

Metal: Copper.

Size: roughly circular, .65" in diameter.

Weight: 112.5 grains.

Find-spot: Kauśāmbī.

Obverse: Tree within railing in the centre; Taurine to left; traces of a wavy line between two straight lines to right, probably indicating a river.¹ A somewhat similar symbol occurs on a coin of Brihaspatimitra II, (Allan, Pl. XX., 3). **Pl. XII, 1.**

Reverse: Bull to left; in its front Three-arched Hill surmounted by a Crescent above a railing, as on the coins of Brihaspatimitra II and Agnimitra.

Pothamitra is quite a new king in the Kauśāmbī series. He is to be distinguished from king Poṭhasiri, whose inscription of the

1. This suggestion was made to me by Dr. V. S. Agrawala.

year 86 has been recently discovered by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti at Bandhogarh in Reva State. A very ill-preserved coin of a king named Prashthasri (?) was found at Bhita and is referred to in *A.R., A.S.I.* for the year 1911-2 at p. 66.¹ Palæography as well as the year 86 of the illusive era in which his inscription is dated make it quite clear that Poṭhasiri flourished in the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. Poṭhamitra of the present coin on the other hand must have flourished much earlier. Palæographical indications as well as the evidence of the type show that Poṭhamitra must have flourished in the 1st century B. C. not far removed in time from kings Brihaspatimitra II and Agnimitra, whose coins bear a close resemblance to his. The name Poṭhamitra occurs in a fragmentary inscription discovered in 1942 at Kauśāmbī by Pandit Amar Nath Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, and now deposited in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. The record reads as follows :—

- 1.....संवत्सरे १० हेमन्ता[न]
- 2.....कस पोठमितस पुतेन
- 3.....स पुतेन हास्तिपुतेन गत....
- 4.....द्वनस (?) पसपट्ट चिरन (?)

The record is fragmentary, but it seems probable that Poṭhamitra mentioned in it had no royal titles before his name. He therefore cannot be identified with the issuer of the present coin, though the palæography of the coin and the inscription would not militate against their identity.

Praushtha means a bull and the rulers of Kauśāmbī were traditionally believed to belong to the Vatsa (Bull) family. Praushthamitra or Poṭhamitra and Praushthaśrī or Poṭhasiri therefore seem to have been not uncommon names at Kauśāmbī.

A COIN OF [SA]TAMITRA, A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI.

Metal: Copper.

Size: roughly circular, .6" in diameter.

Weight: 14.3 grains.

Diestruck. Find-spot: Kauśāmbī.

1. The report unfortunately does not illustrate this coin and Sir John Marshall is not sure of the reading of the legend. He simply observes "This coin supplies the name of a new ruler of Kauśāmbī, but his full name is doubtful". It is therefore difficult to state whether the king of the coin found at Bhita is or is not identical with the issuer of the present coin. On the reverse of the Bhita coin there is humped bull to left, and on the obverse, Tree in railing, three arched hill to left and Brāhmī legend below in characters of the Kushāna period, *Prashthaśrīya* (?).

Obverse : Tree within railing ; Ujjayinī symbol to right at a little higher level. Legend below, . *tamītasā*.

PI. XII, 6.

Reverse : Bull to right.

As the first letter of the king's name has completely disappeared, we can only conjecture as to what it may have been. Most probably it was *sa* and the king's name was Satamita or Satyamitra. A king named Satyamitra figures in the Ayodhyā series of kings, on whose coins also there is a bull on one side ; see Allan, *Catalogue*, Pl. XVII, 10-16. But the other sides of the two kings differ ; the Kauśāmbī ruler has Tree within railing and Ujjayinī symbol, whereas the Ayodhyā king has the Cock (or *Hamsa*) and the Palm tree. The latter also spells his name as Satyamitra and not as Satamita and his coins are not so light in weight as the present coin. Palæography of the coins would not militate against their attribution to one and the same ruler and it is possible that the same king may have issued different types at Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī, following the local numismatic types. If such was really the case, we shall have to assume that in the reign of Satyamitra, the kingdoms of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī had been amalgamated into one dominion. But we cannot exclude the other possibility of the two homonymous rulers being unconnected with each other both in time and locality.

TWO COINS OF SARPAMITRA A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI

Metal : Copper.

Size : roughly circular, of PI. XII, 7 and elliptical of PI. XII, 8 ; diameters .65" and .65" × .6" respectively.

Weight : 71 grains of No. 7 and 107 grains of No. 8.

Diestruck. Find-spot : Kauśāmbī.

Obverse : In an incuse, below the legend *Sapamītasā*, and above Ujjayinī symbol to left and another blurred symbol to right, which was probably Tree within railing. PI. XII, 7-8.

Reverse : Bull to right.

Of the letters of the legend, *sa* is quite clear on PI. XII, 8 and *pamīta* on PI. XII, 7 ; so the name Sapamita may be taken to be reasonably certain. Sapamita is obviously the Prakrit spelling of the name Sarpamitra, who was obviously one of the so far unknown kings of Kauśāmbī. Sarpamitra is rather an unusual name, but it need not cause any surprise. Nāga, which is a synonym of Sarpa, forms part of the names of rulers in ancient times both in southern and northern India ;

cf. Nāgamulanikā, Agnimitranāga, Skandanāga, Bṛihaspatināga, Bhavanāga, etc. The name Sarpamitra then is not an unusual one.

The palæography as well as the type suggest that Sarpamitra may have flourished in the century preceding or succeeding the beginning of the Christian era.

A COIN OF NAVIKA (?) A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI

Metal: Copper.

Size: Irregular, possibly due to subsequent breaking:
greatest length, .6", shortest breadth, .25".

Weight: 26.5 grains.

Diestruck. Find-spot: Kauśāmbī.

Obverse: Above, *v*-topped banner placed horizontally;
below, the legend Nāvika (sa) **Pl. XII, 9.**

Reverse: Completely blurred.

The base of the first letter *Na* is slightly higher than that of the letter *vi* following. The reading *Nāvika*. is fairly certain; the letter *sa* is clear on the original coin.

Nāvika is quite a new and rather an unusual name. The *v*-topped banner as well as the find-spot show that he must have ruled at Kauśāmbī; his time would be approximately 1st or 2nd century A. D., as indicated by the palæography.

FOUR COINS OF PUSHVASRI A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI

Metal: Copper.

Size: roughly circular, diameters varying from .65" to .75".

Weights: varying from 67.3 grains to 76.55 grains.

Diestruck. Find-spot: Kauśāmbī.

Obverse: Above, Tree within railing to right and Three-arched Hill to left;

below, the legend, *Pushvaśriya* (h).

Pl. XI, 2-5

Reverse: Bull to right.

The legend *Pushvaśriya* (h) obviously contains the name of the ruler in the genitive; it must therefore have been *Pushvaśrī*. The letter *pu* is clear on No. 3, *shva* on Nos. 2 and 4, *śrī* on Nos. 2, 4, and 5 and *ya* on Nos. 2 and 4. The reading *Pushvaśriya* is therefore certain. *Pushpaśrī* would have given a better meaning, but the second letter is clearly *shva* and not *shpa*. The loop of the subscript is to the left of the vertical and completely closed up at the top, as can clearly be seen from

Nos. 2 and 4. Had the loop been to the right and open at the top, the reading Pushpaśrī would have been possible. *Pushvaśriya* is however nothing else than Prakritic rendering of Pushpaśriyah; for in many cases *pa* in Sanskrit is transformed into a *va* in Prakrit; for instance *save* for *sarpaḥ*.

King Pushpaśrī is so far quite unknown to us either from archæological or from literary evidence. We do not therefore possess any information about him. The distinct loop in the left limb of *ya* shows that the ruler could not have flourished before c. 250 A.D. The form and style of the Tree within railing as well as of the Three-arched Hill are closely similar to those on the coins of the 'Magha' rulers who flourished in the 3rd or the 4th centuries A.D.; see *ante*, Vol. II, Pl. IX, Nos. 4 and 8. We may not be therefore far wrong if we suggest that king Pushpaśrī may have flourished at Kauśāmbī on the eve of the Gupta conquest.

A coin of this series has been published by Dr. Jayaswal in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol XX, pp. 291-2, Plate II, 1 and attributed to Pushyamitra Śunga. The third letter on this coin is very indistinct and the fourth letter is non-existent; so Jayaswal's reading *Push[y]ami[tasa]* was very problematical. The comparison of Jayaswal's coin with the four published here makes it quite clear that they all belong to the same type and ruler. He is certainly Pushyaśrī and not Pushyamitra. The palæography of the legend as well as the type of the coins show that they belong to c. 300 A.D. They could therefore never have been issued by Pushyamitra Śunga in the 2nd century B. C.

TWO COINS OF AGARAJA A NEW KING OF KAUSAMBI

Two coins have been so far published, which were believed to have the legend *Sugarajasa* upon them. The first of these was published by Dr. Jayaswal in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 294-5 and the second by myself in this Journal, Vol. IV, pp. 14-15. While publishing the second coin I had observed that unless more and better preserved specimens of this variety were available, the various problems connected with it cannot be satisfactorily solved. Two more specimens of this type, which I discovered in the collection of R. B. Vyas now make it clear that the legend is to be read as *Agarajasa* and not as *Sugarajasa*. On the coin published by me the first letter of the legend does look like a *śa* with its upper notch closed up by incrustation; see Pl. I, 17 in *Ante*, Vol. IV. But the letter in question is distinctly *a* on the new coins that I am publishing in this paper. What appeared as a closed

up notch of the letter *śa* on the coin I published before is really the closed up upper right hand triangle of the letter *a*.

Metal: Copper.

Size: Roughly circular; diameter, 6" of **Pl. XII, 10** and 5" of **Pl. XII, 11**.

Weight: 72.2 grains of No. 10 and 45.5 of No. 11.

Diestruck. Find-spot: Kauśāmbī.

Obverse: Above, legend *Agarajasa*;

below, Ujjayinī symbol and Taurine, in the case of No. 10 and Ujjayinī symbol and Tree within railing in the case of No. 11. **Pl. XII, 10-11**.

Reverse: Bull to right, completely blurred on No. 10 but partly visible on No. 11.

Out of the letters of the legend, *A*, *ga* and *ra* are quite clear on No. 10 and *ga*, *ra*, *ja* and *sa* on No. 11; so the reading *Agarajasa* is beyond all doubt. *Agaraja* may be the Prakrit form of *Aṅgarāja* or *Agrarāja*; but neither of this is so far known to be the name of any king. It is possible that a ruler of *Aṅgadeśa*, temporarily in possession of Kauśāmbī, may have issued coins as *Aṅgarāja*, not caring to put his personal name on his issues. Or the issuer may have been the king of the *Agras*; his title *Agarāja* recalls the legend *Agacha Janapadasa* that appears on some coins found at *Agroha* in the Punjab. The *Agras* or *Agreyas* however are not known to have been connected with Kauśāmbī and it is doubtful if we can connect the present coins with a ruler of the *Agacha Janapada* in the Punjab. Until more evidence, literary or archæological is available, it may not be possible to solve the mystery of the identity of this ruler.

The two coins of the present type published before were in a poor state of preservation and it was not clear as to what was engraved upon them below the legend on the obverse. I had referred to two possibilities in this connection: the portion below the legend may have been its continuation giving the personal name of *Suṅgarāja*; or, what appeared as traces of letters in the lower line may have been some symbols, worn out by use. The present coins show that the second of the above conjectures is the correct one; we can see clear traces of Tree within railing, Ujjayinī symbol and Taurine on these specimens. Ujjayinī symbol is the constant symbol; the Tree within railing is sometimes replaced by Taurine.

All these symbols are quite prominent on the coins of the kings of Kauśāmbī of the 1st and 2nd century B.C.; these symbols along with the find-spot of the coin show that *Agarāja* was a ruler of Kauśāmbī. The forms of *a* and *ga* would suggest that *Agarāja* belonged rather to the 2nd than to the 1st century B.C.

AN UNINSCRIBED COIN OF A PECULIAR SHAPE.

The coin illustrated in Pl. XII, 22 is unique in its shape. The piece cannot be regarded as an ornament, for it has no loop or hole for stringing or hanging it. It is a coin from a mould but its upper and lower appendices are a mystery. Had the appendix been only on one side, it was possible to regard it as the channel through which the molten metal travelled to the mould of the coin. But traces of such channels are usually to be seen at only one place on cast coins and they have no symbols on them, as we see in the appendices of the present coin. I am unable to suggest their significance. I hope that some scholars may come forward with a satisfactory explanation. I now proceed to describe the coin.

Metal: Copper.

Size: Circular in the centre (diameter, .8") with two trapezium like appendices at the top and the bottom.

Weight: 74 grains.

Cast from mould.

Find-spot: Kauśāmbī.

Obverse: Elephant to left; v-topped banner with two prongs to right¹ in its front. Above the elephant, *Svastika* to left, Ujjayinī symbol to right and a blurred symbol in the centre, which was probably Taurine.

In the appendix at the top, two hooded serpents facing each other across a short rod.

In the appendix below, a blurred symbol, which was probably Three-arched Hill. Pl. XII, No. 22 Obv.

Reverse: Bull to right; many branched tree in its front; Symbols above the bull are blurred, but they were probably the same as those on the obverse.

In the appendix at the top, the same symbols as on the obverse.

1. Such a banner occurs in Sanchi sculptures, where it is seen being carried by horsemen, which lends support to the view that it may be a *Jayadhvaja*. My friend Dr. V. S. Agrawala thinks that it may be *Indradhvaja* referred to in early Indian literature and described in the *Mahābhārata*, I. 63, as being annually hoisted by all kings on the 15th day of Margasīrsha month:—

यष्टि च वैणवीं तस्मै ददौ वृत्रनिषृदनः । ततःप्रभृति चाद्यापि यष्टेः क्षितिपसत्तमैः ॥
 प्रवेशः क्रियते राजन्यथा तेन प्रवर्तितः । अपरेद्युस्ततस्तस्याः क्रियतेऽत्युच्छ्रयो दृष्टैः ॥
 अलंकृतायाः पिटकैर्गन्धमाल्यैश्च भूषणैः । माल्यदामपरिक्षिप्तां द्वात्रिंशत् किष्कुसंमिताम् ॥
 उद्धृत्य पिटके चापि द्वादशारत्निकोच्छ्रये । महाराजतवासांसि परिक्षिप्य ध्वजोत्तमम् ॥
 वासीभिरन्नपानैश्च पूजितैर्ब्राह्मणर्षभैः । पुण्याहं वाचयित्वा च ध्वज उच्छ्रियते तदा ॥

The two prongs to the right may be the garlands or silvery clothes fluttering from the top of the *Indradhvaja*. It is not however clear why the *dhvaja* should be a triangle-headed one, if it was either a *Jayadhvaja* or an *Indradhvaja*.

In the appendix below, a blurred symbol, probably
Three-arched Hill. **Pl. XII, No. 22 Rev.**

Most of the symbols on the present coin are common ones on the ancient issues of Kauśāmbī, where this coin was found. The elephant is rather rare, but it appears on the coins of Sudeva (?); see Allan, p. 100 and Pl. XX, 11. The symbol of two hooded serpents facing each other appears on the coins of the Kulūta king Virayaśas; see Allan, Pl. XVI, 4.

I now proceed to publish better preserved specimens of some of the new rulers of Kauśāmbī, whose coins were published by me in this Journal, Vol. IV, Part I.

NEW COINS OF PRAJAPATIMITRA.

The letters on the coin of Prajāpatimitra published earlier in Vol. IV, Pl. II, 6 were rather blurred; those on the coins in the accompanying plate, **Pl. XII, 12-13**, are quite distinct and there can be no doubt of the reading of the legend. No symbols could be made out on the earlier specimen; on the obverse of **Pl. XII, 13** we have Tree within railing to right and Taurine and Ujjayinī symbol to left. Of these symbols, Tree and Ujjayinī symbol appear on a coin of Brihaspatimitra II described by Allan on p. 152, No. 25 of his *Catalogue*. On the obverse of **Pl. XII, 12**, we have Tree within railing on left and a wavy and a perpendicular line, which appear also on the coins of Brihaspatimitra II and Aśvaghoṣa; see Allan, *Catalogue*, Pl. XX, Nos. 2 and 6. On the reverse of the coins published here we have Bull below and Ujjayinī symbol above it, **Pl. XII, 13**, as is the case on some coins of Brihaspatimitra II and Agnimitra (See Allan, *Catalogue*, Pl. XX, Nos. 2 and 5). On the reverse of the coin published earlier by me there was Three-arched hill on a railing, which is absent on the present coins. This symbol appears on the reverse of some of the coins of Brihaspatimitra and Agnimitra; see Allan, Pl. XX, Nos. 2 and 15.

The symbols and palæography of the present coins show that Prajāpatimitra could not have been far removed in time from Brihaspatimitra II and Agnimitra. We may therefore place him towards the close of the 2nd century B.C.

Both the coins of Prajāpatimitra published here are diestruck copper pieces, roughly circular in shape, with a diameter of about .7". The weight of No. 12 is 98.1 grains and that of No. 13 is 94.2 grains.

A NEW COIN OF RAJAMITRA.

The coins of this ruler illustrated *ante*, Vol. IV, Pl. I, 8-9 were in a poor state of preservation and the legends upon them

were not quite distinct on the plate. On the coin illustrated with this paper on **Pl. XII, 14**, the letters *rā, ja, mī, ta* are quite distinct and so there is no doubt about the name. Above the legend, we have no tree within railing on this specimen; instead we have two three pronged symbols placed back to back to each other. This is a new composite symbol on the 'tribal' coins. The reverse has a blurred bull and Ujjayinī symbol. The coin is diestruck, roughly circular in shape with a diameter of .7" and a weight of 139 grains. It was found at Kauśāmbī.

A NEW COIN OF RADHAMITRA.

The present coin, **Pl. XII, 15**, is exactly similar to that published in the last number of this Journal; but every letter of the legend *Rādhamīta* is absolutely clear. There can therefore be no longer any doubt about the name. The present coin also is cast one and rather irregular in size, being 1" x .7", with clipped ends. Its weight is 39 grains and find-spot Kauśāmbī.

A NEW COIN OF VARUNAMITRA.

Compared to the coin of Varuṇamitra published in the last number the coin published with this paper, **Pl. XII, 16**, is in a much better state of preservation. All the letters in the legend *Varuṇamīta* are clear with the exception of *sa*. The symbols above the legend are also very distinct. There is Tree within railing in the centre; to left we have a wavy line probably between two stright lines as on the coins of Bṛihaspatimitra II and Agnimitra. This symbol probably denotes a river. To right we have a portion of Ujjayinī symbol. The coin is die-struck and roughly circular in size, being .5" in diameter. Its weight is 53.5 grains and find-spot Kauśāmbī.

I now proceed to publish some new and interesting varieties of coins of some of the rulers of Kauśāmbī, already known to us.

COINS OF JYESHTHAMITRA.

Large size.

Metal: Copper.

Size: roughly circular, diameter varying from .7" to .8".

Weight: 81 grains.

Diestruck. Find-spot: Kauśāmbī.

Obverse: Above, Ujjayinī symbol to left and Three-arched Hill laid on its side, to right; in the centre the legend *Jeṣṭhamīta*; below, Tree within railing laid on its side. **Pl. XII, 17**.

Reverse: Apparently Bull to left, but not easily recognisable; *v*-topped banner in its front. Small symbols round the bull which look like letters but are probably taurine symbols, as suggested to me by Dr. V.S. Agrawala. **Pl. XII, 17.**

The present coin is similar to that in the *B.M.C.*, Pl. XX, 7; but it is much larger in size and heavier in weight. The coin in the *B.M.C.* has no standard before the bull nor the circular border of taurines.

Very small size.

Metal: Copper.

Size: roughly circular, diameter, .3".

Weight: 3.2 grains.

Diestruck. Find-spot: Kauśāmbī.

Obverse: In the centre, the legend *Jeṭhami(tasa)*; above, traces of Ujjayinī symbol; below, possibly the traces of a tree (?) **Pl. XII, 18.**

Reverse: Tree within railing.

A coin of Jyeshthamitra, as light in weight as 3.2 grains, is not known so far. Coins so light in weight were issued by Bhānumitra of the Pañchāla series and the Mālava republic. Tree within railing on the reverse is also rather rare on Kauśāmbī coins.

COINS OF AGNIMITRA.

I publish here two coins of Agnimitra as they are good specimens of the coins of this ruler and rather peculiar in shape. The coin of this ruler published in the *B.M.C.* by Mr. Allan is in a poor state of preservation.

CLEAR SPECIMEN.

Metal: Copper.

Size: irregularly round, .75" × .65".

Weight: 107.6 grains.

Diestruck. Find-spot: Kauśāmbī.

Obverse: Tree within railing in the centre; to left a wavy line between two straight lines, probably indicating a river; to right a *Nandīpāda* surmounted by a *v*-topped banner with two prongs to right. Legend below, *Agimita(sa)*. **Pl. XII, 20.**

Reverse: Bull to right; in its front three-arched Hill above a railing surmounted by a *Nandīpāda*.

A BLURRED SPECIMEN.

Metal: Copper.

Size: Irregularly round, .8" × .65". Clipped at one end.

Weight : 126·7 grains.

Diestruck. Find-spot : Kauśāmbī.

Obverse : As in no. 20 above, but the relative position of the river and the banner is reversed. These symbols as well as the legend below are blurred. Pl. XII, 19.

Reverse : As on No. 20 above.

COUNTERSTRUCK COINS FROM KAUSAMBI.

Some counterstruck coins from Kauśāmbī have been already published by Mr. Allan in his *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* and by myself in this Journal, *ante*, pp. 12-13. The legends on these coins were by no means very clear. Mr. Allan's counterstruck coin of Agnimitra had the counterstruck symbol in a very poor condition and he thought it to be a *Triśūla*: the coin published herewith shows that the symbol is a *Nandīpāda* and not a *Triśūla*. Its legend, giving the name of Agnimitra, is also clearer than on the specimen published by Mr. Allan. I shall now describe the coin.

COUNTERSTRUCK COINS OF AGNIMITRA.

Metal : Copper. Size : Roughly circular, diameter, ·7".

Weight : 108·5 grains.

Diestruck. Find-spot : Kauśāmbī.

Obverse : To left, Tree within railing; to right, the counterstruck *Nandīpāda* symbol in a deep incuse.

Legend below, [A] *gimitasa*. Pl. XII, 21.

Reverse : Bull to right; in its front three-arched hill, above a railing probably surmounted by a *Nandīpāda*.

COUNTERSTRUCK COIN OF BRIHASPATIMITRA II.

In his *Catalogue*, Allan has published a counterstruck coin at p. 152, which he has conjecturally ascribed to Brihaspatimitra II mainly on the consideration of the type, as the legend had left no traces of its existence. I publish herewith a counterstruck coin, where the letters *Baha* are quite clear in the plate and *Bahsa...* in the original, making it quite clear that it was king Brihaspatimitra whose coins have been counterstruck.

Metal : Copper. Size : roughly circular, ·6" in diameter.

Weight : 46·3 grains. Diestruck and found at Kauśāmbī.

Obverse : In the centre Tree within railing counterstruck with the symbol of a *v*-topped banner with two prongs to right enclosed in a railing of two storeys. To left, Ujjayinī symbol below and a *v*-topped banner above. To right, a wavy line. Below, the remnants of the

original legend *Bahasatimitasa*, letters *timita* being completely wiped out by the lower portion of the counterstruck symbol. Letters *Baha* are quite clear in the plate, and the concluding *sa* is faintly visible.

PI. XII, 24

Reverse : Completely blurred.

A COUNTERSTRUCK COIN OF JYESHTHAMITRA(?),

The legend on the coin illustrated in PI. XII, 23 presents a problem, and so its attribution is doubtful. Preceding the last three letters *mitasa*, there is a letter which looks like a circle. This letter was most likely preceded by another. It is most natural to suppose that the circular letter is *pha*, and since the space of the first letter is very small, it may have been rather *Je* than *A* or *Po*. The coin therefore should be attributed to Jyeshthamitra. But its attribution to Poṭhamitra is by no means improbable, since the *Nandīpāda* symbol, which occurs on this coin is also to be seen on the coin of Poṭhamitra published above, PI. XII, 1. The size and fabric of the two coins are also similar. I am however inclined to think that the legend was Jethamita, rather than Poṭhamita. I shall now describe the coin.

Metal : Copper. Size : roughly circular, .55" in diameter.

Weight : 61.3 grains. Diestruck and found at Kauśāmbī.

Obverse : Tree within railing ; to right, *Svastika* below and *Nandīpāda* above. Legend below, [*Je*]thamitasa.

Reverse : Bull to right ; in its front a *v*-topped banner ; *Nandīpāda* symbol counterstruck across the body of the bull in a deep incuse. PI. XII, 23.

COUNTERSTRUCK COIN OF []MITA.

Metal : Copper. Size : roughly circular, diameter .5".

Weight : 19.7 grains. Diestruck and found at Kauśāmbī.

Obverse : In the centre faint traces of a tree within railing ; to right, *Ujjayinī* symbol below and *Nandīpāda* above. Traces of legend below, *mitasa* alone being legible.

Reverse : Faint traces of Bull and Three-arched hill above a railing. Bull counterstruck with a symbol in deep incuse, consisting of *Nandīpāda* surmounted by a *v*-topped banner, as on the counterstruck coin of Brihaspatimitra II illustrated above, PI. XII, 24.

PI. XII, 25.

On the counterstruck coin of Jyeshthamitra(?), illustrated above, (PI. XII, 23) a *v*-topped banner is in front of the bull. In the case of the present coin, we cannot however say that only the

Nandāpāda symbol is counterstruck on the original *v*-topped banner, because both the symbols are equally clear and included within the same incuse.

The counterstruck symbol is similar to that on the counterstruck coin of Brihaspatimitra II, illustrated above, **Pl. XII, 24**. It is therefore tempting to suggest that this counterstruck coin also was originally issued by Brihaspatimitra II. But it has to be noted that the space on the coin before the letter *mi* is not sufficient for four letters, *Bahasati*. Only two letters could have been accommodated in it, and so the issuer may have been Agnimitra or Jyeshthamitra. The point can be cleared only by the discovery of new coins.

I desire to express once more my indebtedness to Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas for kindly permitting me to publish the coins discussed in this paper, which are all from his coin-cabinet. But for his kindness these new coins would not have become known to the numismatic and historic scholars.

SOME RARE INDO-GREEK HEMIDRACHMS FROM. THE NORTH WESTERN FRONTIER.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL H.L. HAUGHTON, LAHORE.

I publish in this short paper some rare coin types of the Indo-Greek rulers.

MENANDER.

Metal: silver; size: .65"; weight: 37 grains.

Obverse: Helmeted bust of king to right.

Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Reverse: King on prancing horse. Monogram No. 71 of the *P.M.C.*, Vol. I.

Legend: *Maharajasa dhramikasa Minadrasa.*

Pl. XIII A, 1.

This hemidrachm appears to be similar to the 'Dikaios' hemidrachm in the White King Collection, mentioned in the foot-note No. 1 to p. 59 of the *P.M.C.*, Vol. I.

[It may be pointed out that the *P.M.C.* Vol. I. only refers to but does not illustrate the hemidrachm of Menander with helmeted bust, having the title ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, *Editor, A.S.A.*]

EPANDER.

Metal: silver; size: .7"; weight: 37 grains.

Obverse: Diademed bust of king to right.

Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Reverse: Pallas to left. Monogram No. 73 of the *P.M.C.*, Vol. I.

Legend: *Maharajasa jayadharasa Epadrassa.*

Pl. XIII A 2.

This hemidrachm is similar to No. 576 of the *P.M.C.*, but the coins of this class are extremely rare. [The plate will further show that this coin is in a much better state of preservation than the one illustrated in the *P.M.C.*, Vol. I, Pl. VI, 516. *Editor, A.S.A.*]

AGATHOKLEIA AND STRATO

Metal: silver; size: .7"; weight: 38 grains.

Obverse: Portrait of Queen to right.

Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ

Reverse: Warrior fully armed to right.

Legend: *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Strataasa.*

Original size,
Enlarged size,

Pl. XIII A, 4
Pl. XIII A, 4A

It would be quite clear from the enlarged photograph that the portrait is that of the queen; it is not a head of Pallas, as on the copper coins of this ruler. The present coin is similar to No. vii of Pl. IX of the *P.M.C.*, Vol. I.

APOLLOPHANES

Metal: silver; size: .65"; weight: 36 grains.

Obverse: Bust of king to right wearing a plain and a very modern looking helmet.

Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ

Reverse: Pallas to left.

Legend: *Maharajasa tratarasa Apalavinasa.*

Pl. XIII A, 3

This coin is of the same type as No. 550 of the *P.M.C.*, but differs from it in having a different type of helmet. In 40 years' experience I have seen only four coins of this ruler, all of which have come from Jummoo, which seems to indicate that he may have ruled over a small hill state in that area.

POLYXENOS

Metal: silver; size: .65"; weight: 38 grains.

Obverse: diademed bust of king to right.

Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse: Pallas to left. Monogram No. 371 of the *P.M.C.*

Legend: *Maharajasa.....Palasinasa.*

Pl. XIII A, 5

PHILOXENOS

Metal: silver; size: .65"; weight: 37 grains.

Obverse: diademed bust of king to left with thrusting spear.

Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse: king on prancing horse to right. Monogram No. 30 (?) of *P.M.C.*, Vol. I.

Legend: *Maharajasa apadhatasa Philasinasa.*

Pl. XIII A, 6

Square hemidrachms of this king are by no means uncommon on the North West Frontier, but this is the only specimen I have seen on which the king is represented with the thrusting spear. Is it unique?

[A coin of this type but in diadrachm size exists in the British Museum and is referred to by Whitehead in the *P.M.C.*, Vol. I, at p. 73. Since it is not referred to or illustrated in the *B.M.C.*, it must be a later addition. A hemidrachm of this type appears to be unique. *Editor, A.S.A.*]

A NOTE ON SIX SENĀPATI COINS FOUND AT RAIRH

BY DR. DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D.,
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Dr. K. N. Puri has recently published his report on the excavations at Rairh in the Jaipur State, conducted by him during 1938-39. The following note occurs at p. 50 of Dr. Puri's work entitled *Excavations at Rairh*: "*Senāpati Coins*.—(Pl. XXVI, 6-8). A group of six coins (5 rectangular and one round) bears the epigraph 'Senāpati Vachhāghosa' in early Brāhmī characters of about the 3rd-2nd century B. C. which may be rendered 'of the Commander-in-chief Vachhāghosa'. The correct reading is however not *senāpati* but *senāpatisa*. This is not only the reading of the Plate, but also that of the legend printed at p. 66 of the same work. The actual reading is therefore *senāpatisa Vachhāghosa*, according to Dr. Puri. The author does not suggest the existence of the traces of another *akshara* after the above, nor would the representations of these coins permit space for any. There is thus a grammatical difficulty in accepting Dr. Puri's interpretation of the legend. "Of the commander-in-chief Vachhāghosa" would require *senāpatisa Vachhāghosasa*. *Senāpatisa Vachhāghosa* has to be translated "Of the *Senāpati* Vachhāgho," although Vachhāghosa (= Sans. Vatsaghosha) would have been a beautiful name. Dr. Puri appears to be quite confident about the sign for *o*; but the facsimiles of the coins published in his work are not quite helpful for the verification of the reading. The originals may be examined to see if the actual reading of the name is *Vachhāgha* (Sansk. Vatsārghya) or *Vachhāya* (Sansk. Vatsārya).

Again, the *Senāpati* was probably not merely a commander-in-chief. Superior royal officers like a general were often made governors of a province. Cf., e.g., the case of Mahāsēnāpati Skandanāga, governor of the Sātavāhanīy-āhāra under the Sātavāhana king Pulumāvi (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 205). The appointment of military officers as governors of a frontier district or a troubled area, threatened by enemies or rebels, is a recognised political method of all ages. Later feudatory titles like *Mahārāja*-

*Mahāsenāpati*¹ (cf. Sircar, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 19) refer to the same custom. It seems to me that the Rairh coins were issued by a *Senāpati* who was the semi-independent provincial governor of some unknown king.

In this connection, Dr. Puri has most pertinently pointed to the same title used with the name of Pushyamitra Śūṅga. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* calls him a *senāpati* when he is celebrating an *Aśvamedha* and even when his son *Agnimitra* is a *rājā* at *Vidiśā*. This shows that *Kālidāsa* in the 4th-5th century A.D. knew *Pushyamitra* only as a *senāpati* and not as a *rājā*. The suggestion is most eloquently supported by the *Ayodhyā* inscription (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 96), palæographically assignable to the first century A.D., as there a person closely related with *Pushyamitra* calls him *senāpati* and *dviraśvamedha-yājī*, but not a *rājā*. Again, the *Harivaṃśa* probably refers to *Pushyamitra* as a *Senānī* (Sircar, *Suc. Śāt.*, p. 349) which is the same as *senāpati*. These facts appear to show that, whatever be the reason, *Pushyamitra* never assumed any royal title.² He possibly posed to have been merely the *senāpati* of a *Maurya* king even after he became the supreme ruler of the empire of the Later *Mauryas*. It must however be admitted that the suggestion may not totally agree with the traditions that have been handed down to us. But these traditions have been found to be often of doubtful accuracy.

1. In northern India during the 3rd century A.D., this title often denoted the supreme executive authority of a republican state; Cf. *योधेयगण-पुरस्कृतस्य महाराजमहासेनापतेः*....., Fleet, *Corpus*, p. 252. Some of the earlier *Senāpatīs* may have been similar supreme authorities of their states and must have naturally enjoyed the right of coinage. *Editor*, A.S.A.]

2. After the above was written, I have noticed a similar suggestion very recently offered by Dr. A. S. Altekar, *above*, Vol. IV, p. 16, n. 1.

SOME RARE SOUTH INDIAN COINS.

BY CAPT. P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD, DECCAN.

1. A silver coin with the figure of "Yālī" (lion) on the obverse and an undecipherable Nāgarī legend on the reverse. Probably it belongs to the 9th Century A.D.

PL. XIII B, 1

2. A Chola copper coin, probably of the 10th Century A.D. representing a tusked boar on the obverse, to the left of the standing figure of the king. The boar is standing, its back being parallel to and almost in contact with the standing king and tusk not far from the broken portion of the coin. I have come across several pieces of the usual Rājarāja type, but none of them has the Chola symbol of a complete Boar. This is a unique specimen.

PL. XIII B, 2

3. A unique specimen in fine condition of a copper coin of about the 14th Century A. D., representing on the obverse Male and Female figures (King and Queen) riding on a horse cantering to the right. Their faces are turned to the right. The male figure holds a sword in the right hand ; his left hand is stretched out over the horse's head. The female figure is seen on the same horse behind the male ; her right hand hangs loosely by her side, and her left hand holds the waist of the male. The reverse shows Nāgarī legend of four letters, each in a quadrant formed by bisecting double lines with rows of dots in between. The coin is a truly artistic specimen representing the figures of the couple and horse very clearly and in high relief.

PL. XIII B, 3

I shall be grateful to any member of the Numismatic Society of India who can throw any light on the above coins.

A UNIQUE SILVER COIN OF SIKANDAR SHAH OF GUJARAT.

BY C.R. SINGHAL, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

It is a matter of great pleasure to me in bringing to the notice of the Numismatists in general and the students and collectors of Gujarat coins in particular, this unique silver issue of Sikandar Shah, son of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat. Some time back, the Archaeological Department of Baroda sent the plaster casts of twenty Treasure Trove coins of silver discovered from a village near Padra in the Baroda State for examination and report. After examination it was found that all these coins were the issues of the Sultans of Gujarat; 17 of them belong to Mahmud I, 2 to Muzaffar Shah II and 1 to his son Sikandar Shah, i. e. the series comprised the coins from the time of the grand-father to the rule of the grandson.

The first serious attempt at describing the coins of the Gujarat Sultans was made by the late Dr. G. P. Taylor and in the field of Gujarat numismatics the name of that veteran numismatist will always remain at the top. As he stayed in Gujarat for a very long time, he collected a large number of Gujarat coins, wrote a comprehensive account and published them in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in the year 1902. His collection, which comprised 179 silver and 459 copper Coins, was purchased by Mr. S. M. Contractor, from whom it was later re-purchased by the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Our brilliant member, Prof. S. H. Hodivala, was the next scholar to deal with these coins. He made a representative collection of these coins while he was staying at Junagadh. He also contributed an article on some unpublished coins of Gujarat to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1926. This collection, which comprised 437 silver and 874 copper coins, was also purchased by the Prince of Wales Museum.

As the cabinets of the Prince of Wales Museum became rich with Gujarat coins, I made an humble attempt in compiling the Catalogue of these coins which was published by the Museum Trustees in the year 1935. In this Catalogue about a thousand Gujarat coins have been described and reference has also been made to these found in other collections.

Lastly Mr. A. D. Pathan of Junagadh published about 300 Gujarat coins in the Journal of the Archæological Society of Junagadh for the year 1937, and described some new varieties.

From the time of the late Dr. G. P. Taylor till today several eminent numismatists and collectors have come across varied and numerous Gujarat coins, but none of them has described or found any issue of Sikandar Shah, and we take this opportunity of congratulating the Archæological Department of Baroda for being lucky in discovering this unique silver issue of Sikandar Shah of Gujarat.

As this Sultan sat on the throne for a very short time and was murdered at a premature age, it was presumed that he died without issuing any coins, but the discovery of this unique rupee shows that such was not the case. As a matter of fact, he did strike coins though he ruled for about six weeks only and the number of such issues cannot be expected to be very large.

It is said that while he was a prince, his mother named Bibi Rani, at the time of her death, entrusted the guardianship of the young prince to a slave named Khush qadam, afterwards styled as Imadul-Mulk. This wicked slave was taking the airs of a minister and was waiting for the day of the accession of his ward Sikandar Khan.

As we know, Sultan Muzaffar had eight sons and Sikandar Khan being the eldest was declared heir apparent by the Sultan and it was naturally the earnest wish of the father that his eldest son should succeed him after his death. As soon as Sultan Muzaffar breathed his last, Sikandar Khan ascended the throne on the same day and assumed the title of Sikandar Shah.

But unfortunately the long cherished hopes of the slave Imadul-Mulk were frustrated as the new Sultan gave no importance to him, but on the contrary showed his respect and inclination towards Khudawand Khan who was the chief minister of the deceased Sultan. This and some similar incidents kindled the fire of fury and hatred consequent upon his disappointment in the heart of Imadul-Mulk. He, therefore, with the help of his vile associates, planned the murder of the young Sultan and succeeded in doing so. Thus came the end of this young ruler who is said to have been a very good looking youth and was even called by some as Joseph the second (*Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 142).

The coin is dated 932 H = 1525 A. D. and the weight and size are 209.5 grs. and .9" respectively.

The legend runs as under.

Obv. In scalloped circle.

Rev. In scalloped circle.

الوائق بالدينان ناصر
الدين والدین ابوالفتح

سکندر شاه بن خطفر شاه
السلطان ۹۳۲

M. M. like this r on “ف” of مظفر

Pl. XIIIc.

It is interesting to note that the legend on the obverse was not taken from any of the issues of his father Muzaffar II, but it was copied from a unique pedigree rupee of his grand-father Mahmud I (see N. 152c of the *P.W.M.C.*)

The legend on the reverse closely resembles that on a gold issue of his father (vide No. 420e of *P.W.M.C.*)

The mint mark found on the reverse of this coin seems to have been introduced by this Sultan; the issues of his predecessors do not bear this mark. It was adopted later by his brother Bahadur Shah. This mark is also to be found on the Shah-i-Hind series of Bahadur Shah's coins where the name of the mint inscribed in the margin is “Shahr-i-Mukarram Muhammadabad”. As the present coin also bears the same mint mark, it is presumed that it was also minted at Muhammadabad alias Champaneir, a place near the Baroda State territory and not very far from the place of its provenance.

The weight and size of this coin are also noteworthy. In copper we come across many coins of heavier weight, but in the white metal no ruler of Gujarat had issued coins of such heavy weight except Ahmad Shah III whose only two coins of 220 grs. are known so far.

REVIEW AND NOTES

Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation, Vol. I, from the 6th Century B.C. to the 6th century A.D.—Edited by Dr. D.C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D. Published by the University of Calcutta. pp. xxxvii + 530, Plates LVI. 1942. Price not stated.

A very valuable service has been done to the cause of the study of Indology by Dr. D.C. Sircar by editing this volume and by the Calcutta University by publishing it. As is well known, Ancient Indian History is based mainly on inscriptions. But these have been published in costly and scattered publications, which are usually inaccessible to the general reader and many of which are also out of print now. The student desirous to study original inscriptions was therefore suffering from a great handicap. There was a great need for scholars also of a handy volume which would contain most of the important inscriptions bearing on ancient Indian History and Civilisation, and this need is handsomely met by the present book.

The Selection contains inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation not only from India but also from adjacent countries. Thus it opens with the famous inscriptions of the Akhæmenians, referring to India, and has sections consisting of the selections of records from Ceylon, Central Asia, Burma, Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Java and Sumatra. It is interesting to note that coin legends also have not been neglected by the author.

Inscriptions have been arranged both chronologically and topographically. This will facilitate the study of history, epigraphy and literature, province by province and age by age. The selection has been made not only from the standpoint of the political historian but also from that of a student of classical Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit scholars acquainted only with the master pieces of authors, whose works have been published from old manuscripts, will realise that lithic records also have to make a valuable contribution to the history and growth of Sanskrit literature.

The value of the volume has been considerably enhanced by the 56 plates it contains, which give the facsimiles of important inscriptions. This will enable the reader to study not only epigraphy but also palæography. Facsimiles are good and it is to be hoped that the publishers will find it possible to include more of them in the second edition.

It should not be however supposed that Dr. Sirkar has merely used the scissors in preparing this work. He has given an up-to-date bibliography of each record, and what is more, added valuable and critical notes to it. The notes, though brief, are scholarly and stimulating and give a glimpse of Dr. Sirkar's great scholarship, erudition and versatility. They include emendations of texts, interpretations of difficult expressions and discussions of controversies, palaeographical, historical and literary. References given in them are exhaustive. They are calculated not only to solve the student's immediate difficulties, but also to create an interest in him for further study, enquiry and research.

It is not easy to make selections of inscriptions which will meet all view points; but it must be admitted that Dr. Sirkar has succeeded in doing this difficult task. There are very few inscriptions of importance which a student or a research scholar may like to have in a handy volume of reference and which are not included in the present work. In the case of coin legends, however, the selection is not quite happy. Instead of giving coin legends simply mentioning the names of Demetrius or Eukratides, it would have been better if the author had included the legends on the Commemorative Medals issued by Indo-Greek rulers. One also misses the coin legend on the coins issued jointly by Agathokleia and her son Strato I, Strato I and his grandson Strato II. The inclusion of the legends on the coins of Vonones and Gondopharnes, indicating their relationship to their subordinate governors, would have been welcome. The exclusion of the legends on the coins of the Vrishnis, the Mālavas, the Arjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas is rather unfortunate; they would have supplied concrete evidence for the existence of the republics in ancient India. It would have been desirable if more space had been given to Gupta coin legends so as to include most of them which are important from a historical or literary view point. We are sure that the author will bear these few suggestions in his mind, when bringing out the second edition. In the meanwhile, we shall once more congratulate him on this excellent volume, which has placed all students of epigraphy under deep obligation. The book is indispensable and we trust that every Arts College in India will order at least one copy of it.

A. S. A.

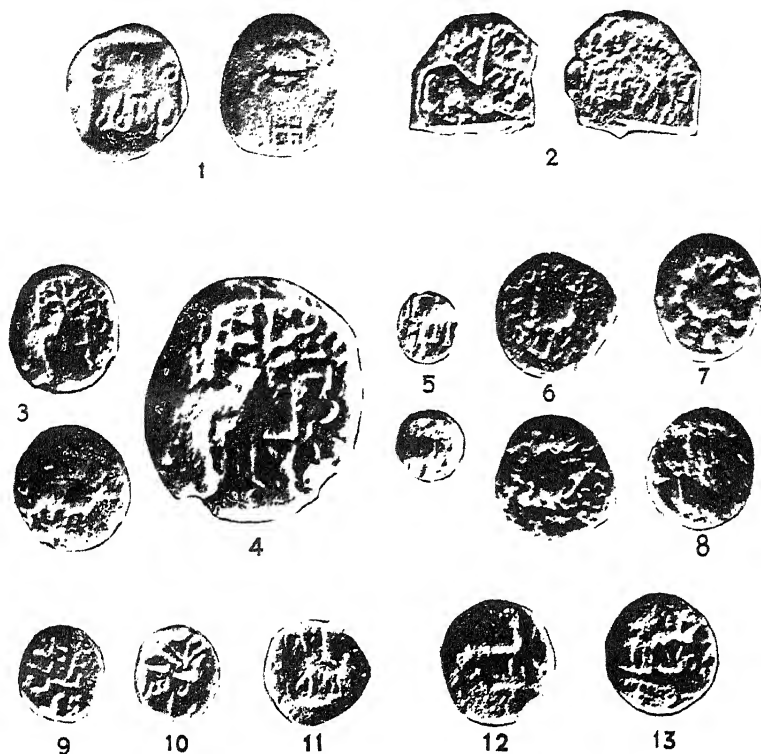
NEW COINS AT RAIRH

Information about very interesting and important numismatic discoveries is to be gathered from *The Excavations at Rairh* by Dr. K.N. Puri, which has been recently published.

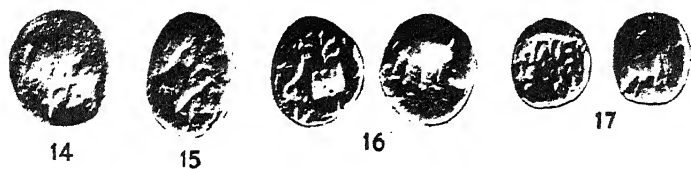
An announcement of these discoveries was made in this *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 144 and a preliminary note on some of the coins had appeared in Vol. III, pp. 47-53. The report gives a fuller account of these coins. The six coins of *Senāpati* Vatsaghosha published in the report are very interesting. So far only one *Senāpati* coin had been published by the late Dr. Jayaswal (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XX p. 9), where the personal name of the general was not clear. The coins of Vatsaghosha seem to belong to the first half of the second century B. C. *Sūryamitra*, *Dhruvamitra* and *Brahmamitra* are the 'Mitra' kings represented at Rairh; their coins would show that parts of Jaipur state were being ruled by kings of the United Provinces. Coins bearing the curious legend *Vapu* and *Mālava* coins with the legend *Mālavānām jayaḥ* were also found at the place along with a number of uninscribed copper coins. Four different hoards of punch-marked coins containing 99, 132, 535 and 1983 coins respectively were found at the place, but the report gives only a brief summary about them. As the report states, this entire collection of 3075 silver punch-marked coins is the largest find from a single site throughout India, and therefore deserves to be adequately and thoroughly analysed, studied and published. We trust that the Jaipur Government will sanction the funds necessary for the purpose. Most of the punch-marked coins belong to Allan's Classes 1, 2 and 6, which have been assigned by him to the Mauryan period. The hoards however contain several new varieties of these classes showing new symbols. The hoards were probably buried at the end of the Mauryan empire, when life had become unsafe at Rairh owing to the political revolution.

Further information about new finds will be found included in Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal's Presidential Address which is being printed in the next number of the *Journal*.

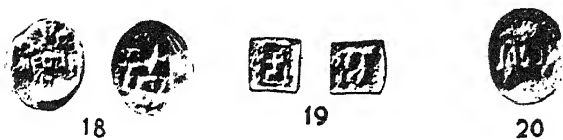
COINS OF
NINE NEW KAUSĀBĪ KINGS



INTERESTING KAUSĀBĪ COINS



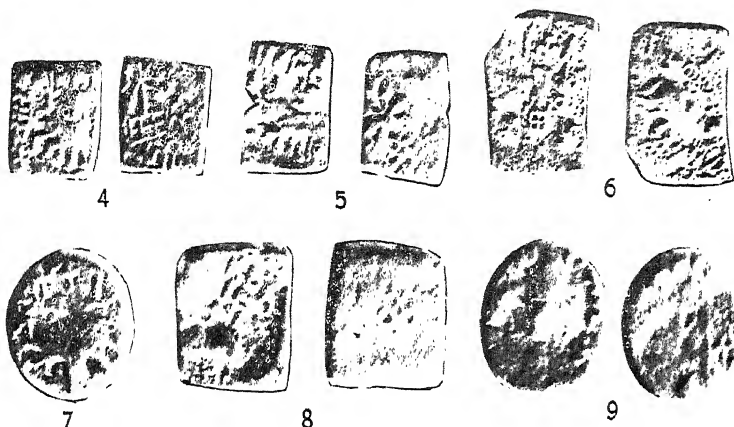
COINS FROM RAMNAGAR
YAJÑAPĀLA VAṆGAPĀLA



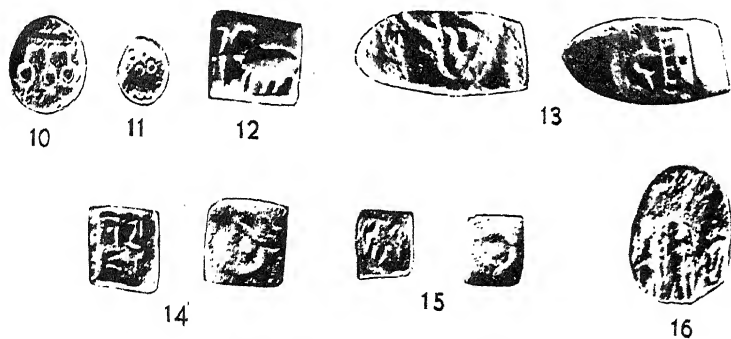
COINS OF MADAVIKA AND AJADATTA



SĀTAVĀHANA COINS, MALAVA TYPE



INTERESTING UNINSCRIBED COINS



INTERESTING MEDIEVAL COINS



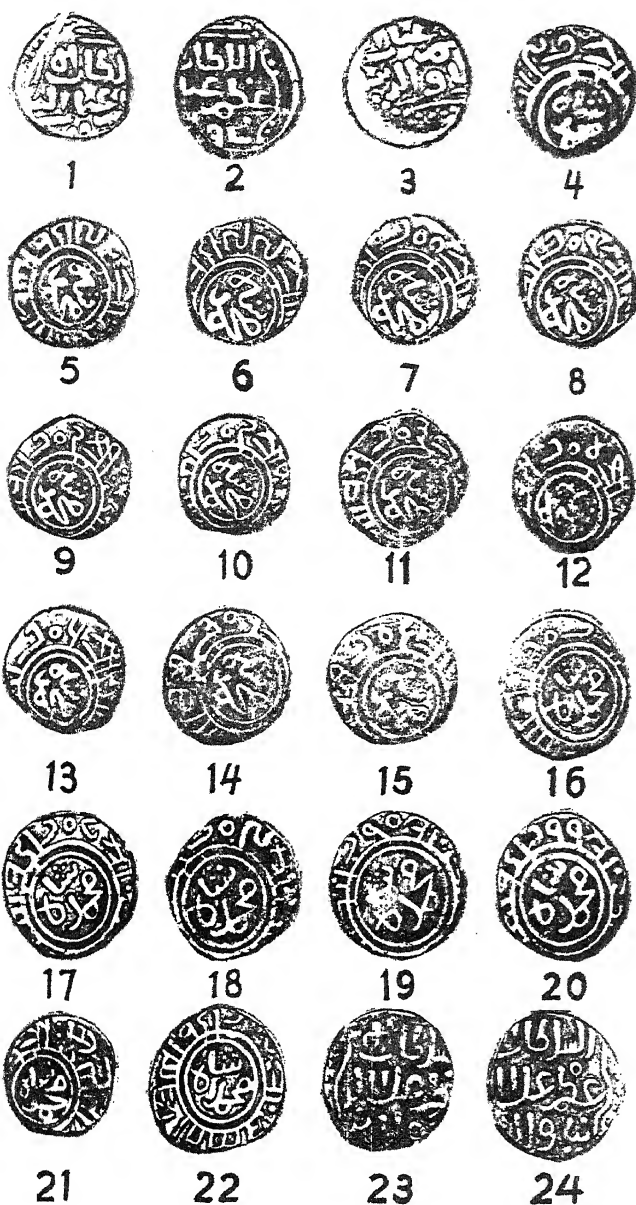


Hephthalite Coins with Pehlavi Legends
N.P. 7 nav is upside down






























































Hephthalite Coins with Pehlavi Legends

Corrections : 15 obv. is 13 rev. ; 13 rev. is 14 obv. ; 14 obv. is 15 obv



Coins of the Sultans of Delhi
From Triambak Hoard

THE CORRESPONDING MARKS					THE TWO ADDITIONAL MARKS ON BOTH	THE REVERSE MARKS ON BOTH
						
1	2	3	92	5	60	
	Group and Variety	Number of Coins	Group and Variety	Number of Coins		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A ₁	P. II a, b B.M.C. II a	75 12	P. II c, d B.M.C. NONE	4	  10 104	 10
B ₁	P. XI a	143	P. I d	7	  57 98	  135 136, 145 P. XI a P. I d.
C ₁	P. III c	49	P. III b	4	  86. 7, 53	  86 143 145
Ca ₁	B.M.C. II h	5	B.M.C. II g	2	  86 42	  86. 143. 145
D ₁	P. I b B.M.C. I e	49 7	P. I c	2	  30 4	  and 135 on some
E	P. NONE B.M.C. NONE	—	P. NONE B.M.C. II d	1	  10	 10
			   92 5 37			
F	P. I a B.M.C. I e	30 7	B.M.C. I f	— 2	  30 43	 35
			   (Three Marks) 112			
B ₂	P. XI a	143	P. I e B.M.C. I h N.S. PL 21-133	3 4 1	  57 98	  135 136 On some B.M.C.
D ₂	P. I b	49	P. I f B.M.C. I g	24 25	  30 43	  135 136 On some
G	P. NONE	—	P. I g	2	 (?)	(?)
			   (One Mark) 113			
A ₂	P. II a, b B.M.C. II a	75 12	P. II e B.M.C. II c N.S. PL 21-134	16 3 1	  10 104	 10
C ₂	P. III c	49	P. III a B.M.C. II f G-G No. 53/5 N.S. PL 21-135	14 1 1 1	  86 7, 53	  86 143 145
Ca ₂	B.M.C. II h	5	B.M.C. II e	8	  86 42	  86 143 145

Coins not Bearing Six-Armed Symbol.

TABLE A.

THE GROUPS OF THE REVERSE MARKS ON THE
PATRAHA COINS OF THE LATER CLASS.















Serial No.	The Reverse Marks	Number of Coins on which the Marks occur	Number of Varieties on which the Marks occur	The Number of Coins in Each Variety in Class II on which the Marks occur
1	2	3	4	5
1	 135	156	7	Ia=27 coins; Ib=47 Ic=2; If=24; IXk=47 XIa=43; XIb=8.
2	 100	36	3	Ia=2 coins; Ib=2. XIa=32.
3	 139	2	1	XIa (976-7)=2.
4	 139	18	1	XIa=18.
5	 136	6	3	Ie=1; XIa=3; XIb=2.
6	 60	1	1	XIb (coin 1078)=1.
7	 9	5	1	XIa (coins 1066-70)=5.
8	 10	162	7	IIa=40; IIb=17; IIc=3; IId=15; IVi=39; Va=42 Vb=6.
9	 143	1	1	IIa=1.
10	 230	4	1	IVi (411-414)=4.
11	 143	13	4	IIa=2; IId=1; IVi=6; Va=4
12	 86	105	11	IIIc=13; IVa=19; IVb=8; IVc=3; IVd=5; IVe=5; IVg=2; IVj=5; Vc=28; Vd=5; VIa=12.
13	 143	22	1	IIIc=22.
14	 145	18	2	IIIa=14; IIIb=4.

TABLE A (Continued)
THE GROUPS OF THE REVERSE MARKS ON THE
PATRAHA COINS OF THE LATER CLASS

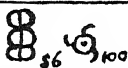



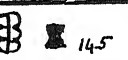
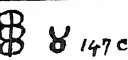
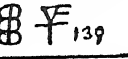
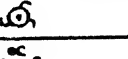
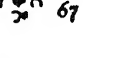
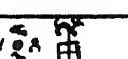
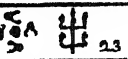
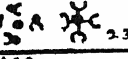
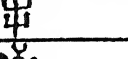
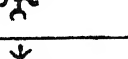
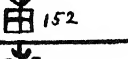
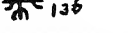
Serial No.	The Reverse Marks	Number of Coins on which the Marks occur	Number of Varieties on which the Marks occur	The number of Coins in Each Variety of Class II on which the Marks occur
1	2	3	4	5
15		3	2	IVd=1; IVg=2.
16		1	1	IVg (coin 334)=1.
17		4	2	IIIc (252-3)=2.
18		6	2	IIIc=1; Vc=5.
19		3	2	IIIc=2; Vc(539)=1.
20		31	1	IVh=31 (out of 41 coins)
21		6	4	IIIc=3; IVf=1; IVj=1; IVk=1.
22		8	1	XIa=8.
23		95	13	IVj=1; Ve=24; Vf=2 (on all the coins) Vc=11; VIIIa-d=43 (out of 50; Xg=1.
24		6	3	VIc=1; VID=3; VIIIb=2
25		3	1	VID=3.
26		1	1	Vg=1.
27		5	2	Vi=3; Vj=2.
28		9	6	IIIc=1; VIIIb=1; Xa=1; Xb=3; Xc=1; Xe=2.
29		12	6	IXa=2; IXb=1; IXc=4; IXe=1; IXg=1; IXh=3.
30		20	4	Id=5; Ie=2; XIa=2; XIb=11.

TABLE B
THE GROUPS OF THE REVERSE MARKS
ON THE BRITISH MUSEUM COINS
OF THE LATER CLASS


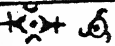
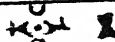
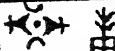
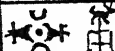
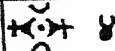













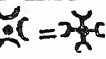


Serial No.	The Reverse Marks	Number of Coins on which the Marks occur	Number of Varieties on which the Marks occur	The Number of Coins in Each Variety on which the Marks occur
1	2	3	4	5
1		104	13	Ia=34; Ic=1; Id=6; Ie=7; If=2; Ig=25; IVn=1; Vd=1; VIc=2; VIIa=11; VIIe=10; VIIf=1; VIIg=3.
2		1	1	Ib (coin 35 p. 19)=1
2a		1	1	VIIg (coin 37, p.48)=1
2b		1	1	Xb (coin 5, p. 55)=1
2c		1	1	IVq (coin 62, p. 38)=1
2d		1	1	VIIId (coin 15, p.46)=1
2e		1	1	Ie (coin 36, p. 20)=1
3-7	NOT IN B.M.C.	—	—	
7a		71	4	Class I Gr. Ia—d (The Swiney Hoard)
8		38	6	IIa=12; IIe=3; IIId=1; II or IV (p. 31)=1; IVa=7; IVe=14.
9		1	1	IIb=1.
10, 11	NOT IN B.M.C.	—	—	

TABLE B (Continued)
THE GROUPS OF THE REVERSE MARKS
ON THE BRITISH MUSEUM COINS
OF THE LATER CLASS

Serial No.	The Reverse Marks	Number of Coins on which the Marks occur	Number of Varieties on which the Marks occur	The Number of Coins in Each Variety on which the Marks occur
1	2	3	4	5
12		41	13	IIIa = 4; IIIc = 1; IIId = 2; IIIe = 4; IIIf = 7; IIIg = 3; IVb = 1; IVd = 4; IVe = 7; IVh = 1; IVj = 2; IVl = 4; IXc = 1.
13		5	3	IIg = 1; IIIa = 1; IIIb = 3.
14		10	3	IIe = 8; IIj = 1; IIg = 1.
15-19	NOT IN B.M.C.	—	—	
20		4	3	IIIh = 1; IIIi = 2; IIIj = 1.
21		1	1	IIh = 1.
21a		2	1	IVl = 2.
22		2	1	VIIc = 2.
23		31	9	IVg = 5; IVi = 1; IVm = 6; IVt = 4; IVu = 10; IVv = 1; Vd = 1; XIa = 1; XIb = 1.
24		1	1	VIIb = 1.
25-27	NOT IN B.M.C.	—	—	
28		6	5	IVf = 1; Va = 1; Vb = 1; VIIg = 2; XIb = 1.
29		7	5	IVp = 1; IVq = 2; VIa = 1; VIb = 1; VIc = 2.
30	NOT IN B.M.C.	—	—	
31		4	1	Ih = 4.

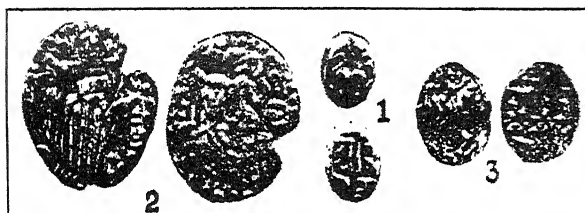


A: Some rare Indo-Greek Hemidrachms.



4 A

B: Some rare South Indian Coins.



C: A unique coin of Sikandar Shah.



REFLETO

TIRUPATI

No 102986

data 10.7.9